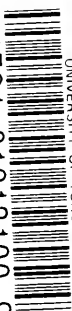


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"THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE"

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UNDER THE EDITORSHIP OF
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TO
MY PARENTS

EDITOR'S FOREWORD

FEW of the great themes of history have a more compelling interest than that which is the subject of this book, for it includes almost every kind of appeal to the student or reader. There is romance in the beginning, in the story of discovery and exploration, of those who sailed with Drake or Raleigh or followed the track of Portuguese caravels to India. Even the homely narrative of obscure settlements carries on that great adventure which lends an epic quality to what might otherwise at first seem insignificant in itself, however important its subsequent effects upon national institutions. The culmination of this heroic theme is reached with Wolfe and Clive. Then come other considerations not less interesting to the English-speaking peoples, problems of colonial government, experiments reaching all the way from repression in America through revolution on the Atlantic seaboard and rebellion in Canada to liberty and democracy in self-governing Dominions and finally to mandated territories held under contract with the League of Nations. The economics of world-empire, with its diverse and mutually conflicting claims and systems, is a subject hardly less vast than that of its political structure, and one almost as important to America as to Great Britain itself. The peculiar problems of Egypt and India and of the growth of nationalism in other parts of the empire is a matter of too recent public discussion to call for further comment here.

A history of the Development of the British Empire written by an American historian who can survey the process with detachment and whose well-turned narrative rests upon adequate research needs no word of editorial commendation or apology. Professor Robinson's volume will be its own justification.

J. T. SHOTWELL



PREFACE

INTEREST in the British Empire, its growth, its organization and its possibilities, needs no apology. The present volume is an attempt to describe, from a detached point of view, the story of the growth of Greater Britain. Especial emphasis has been placed on the momentous development of the last one hundred years, a century that has witnessed an extraordinary growth in the oversea Empire. Although the results of the World War are not as yet fully realized, yet it has been thought wise to relate to the previous evolution of the Empire the diverse changes and increasing complexities that have resulted from British participation in the war that began in 1914.

It will be taken for granted, it is hoped, that this account of British expansion is not intended as an exhaustive study but as an introduction to a part of modern history that has received altogether too little emphasis in the past in American schools and colleges. In accordance with this purpose bibliographies have been appended to the chapters. They refer, it is believed, to the best selection of available books for further reading, although they do not pretend to include all the important works on British imperial growth. Bibliographical data have been added in order that the titles may be more than names, and may lead to an acquaintance with the volumes themselves.

The combination of geographical and historical interest can nowhere be better formed than in the study of British expansion. Maps of especial importance are to be found in the volume. No book, however, can contain too many maps; the constant use of additional maps cannot be too strongly recommended. Care has been taken in the volume to make concrete references to geographical facts, with stress on those details only of which a definite knowledge is necessary for the understanding of the historical development. If it is an

excellent intellectual habit never to pass a word in reading without an exact knowledge of its meaning, it is even more important to follow the same rule with regard to the location of geographical references. By so doing, one can appreciate the enlarging scope of Britain where, as Conrad has put it, "men and sea interpenetrate, so to speak."

Something should be said regarding terminology. The use of the word "American" in referring to the United States of America only — a usage to which Canadians sometimes object — seems inevitable. There is no word to substitute for it. It has been in common use with this meaning ever since 1783; the references by British writers to the United States, in the years following the American Revolution, are usually to the "united states of America." A second source of confusion is the indiscriminate use of "England" and "Great Britain." For a time the formation of the British Empire was almost exclusively the expansion of England, but after the organic union with Scotland it became British expansion, and the accomplishments of the Empire are rightly those of Great Britain. In the third place, there is no good word or phrase to describe the group of self-governing units, Crown Colonies, Chartered Companies, Mandates, and spheres of influence, which have come to form Greater Britain. "Empire" is inaccurate, for the great self-governing Dominions are not under absolute control in the political sense; "Dominion" has much the same fault, whereas "British Commonwealth" errs in the other direction. In the use of the current appellations for Greater Britain, it should be understood that the British Empire is, politically and socially, something "new under the sun."

I desire to express my obligations to many friends who have aided me with their learning and counsel. Former colleagues, Professor Henry R. Mueller, of Muhlenberg College, and Professor H. H. Carter, of Indiana University, have given the manuscript the benefit of careful reading. Professor Walter M. Patton, of Carleton College, has assisted and encouraged me in many ways, and has read several of the chapters. I am grateful to Professor Charles M. Andrews,

of Yale University, for making many helpful suggestions as a result of a careful reading of the text in manuscript, and I gladly acknowledge a similar indebtedness to Ramsay Muir, Professor of Modern History in the University of Manchester from 1913 to 1921. Professor James T. Shotwell, whom I am so fortunate as to count among my teachers, has read the text in manuscript, has made many wise suggestions, and has contributed greatly, by his editorship, to whatever value the volume may possess. I only am responsible for the interpretation of British imperial development as well as for any errors that may have escaped detection. Lastly, I am much indebted to my wife without whose interest and co-operation the task might well have wanted completion.

HOWARD ROBINSON

NORTHFIELD, MINNESOTA
July, 1922

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

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CHAPTER I

THE PREPARATION FOR EMPIRE

THE spread of the British Empire begins with the permanent settlement at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607. With each succeeding century the Empire has expanded, with the single exception of the closing years of the eighteenth century, when the American colonies were lost. To-day, it is one of the great dominating forces of the world. The War of 1914 has demonstrated more than ever its power and its adaptability to new needs and conditions. As one endeavors to appraise its possibilities, a review of the growth of Greater Britain serves to furnish the key to motive and the secrets of successful expansion. It is a fascinating study, this extension of England beyond the seas; it has all the attractiveness and swing of a cosmic epic. In order that we may understand the settlement of Jamestown and all that follows, a preliminary survey must needs be made of the growth of English unity at home, of this composite product called an Englishman, of the institutions developed during the Middle Ages and the early modern period that gave a beneficent as well as a powerful quality to English endeavor.

One of the remarkable traits of the inhabitants of the British Isles has been their genius for colonizing, their adaptability to new conditions. The process of joining races and of forming a composite capable of such accomplishment has been in progress during the whole of British history. It is sometimes forgotten that the Britisher of modern times is a mixture of numerous racial elements. The earliest inhabitants of Britain of whom anything at all definite is known

were probably akin to the Basques. These people, sometimes called Iberian, controlled the islands in the New Stone Age. Following them, the Celts began to occupy the British Isles in the Bronze Age. The Celts came in at least two waves: the Goidelic Celts, whose descendants live with the least intermixture in the Highlands of Scotland, on the Isle of Man, and in Ireland; and the Brythonic Celts, who are represented today by the Welsh and the Cornishmen. Each new wave of invading people tended to push farther westward or mountain-ward the preceding groups. There was probably some amalgamation of conquerors and conquered, but it is very difficult to say to what extent it took place. It is important to note, however, that when the Romans came to Britain in 55 B.C. the people of the British Isles were already of mixed stock.

The Romans stayed for about four hundred years. They built great roads, reared defensive walls in northern England against the wild and unconquered inhabitants of Scotland, and established Roman customs and civilization. But the pressure of the barbarian tribes on the Roman Empire in the fifth century compelled the transfer of the troops in Britain to more important points of defense. When the island was evacuated in the fifth century, relatively few traces of the Roman occupation were left to the succeeding centuries. This was largely owing to the almost immediate conquest of the island by new and uncultured races. About 450 A.D., the Jutes landed on the island of Thanet, off the coast of Kent. They came from the northeast and were Teutonic in race, and with them began numerous movements of Teutonic groups into the island. The Jutes occupied Kent; the Saxons settled in Surrey, Sussex, Wessex, and Middlesex; the Angles conquered the east and north of England, including East Anglia, Northumbria, and Mercia. In this way there was added another distinct stock to form the composite Britisher.

By the end of the seventh century the Anglo-Saxons had conquered most of England. Out of the chaos of small kingdoms there grew overlordships, and the dominance was held

first by one strong kingdom and then by another. Finally it rested in the southwest kingdom of Wessex. Hardly had Egbert, the ruler of Wessex, assured his overlordship when he was troubled by the beginning of the Danish invasions. By the term "Dane" is meant not only the inhabitant of Denmark, but of Scandinavia as a whole. In the ninth century there seems to have been a tendency to unify the rule of the Scandinavian countries, and this had led to the migration of dissatisfied Northmen to Greenland, Iceland, Russia, France, and the British Isles. These fierce sea-rovers became a distinct menace for several centuries. Alfred the Great, who ruled Wessex at the close of the ninth century, spent most of his time opposing them. It proved impossible to drive them away, and finally they occupied the north-eastern part of England, which, in consequence, came to be known as the "Danelaw." Thus a new racial group was added to the mixture of peoples in England. Danish invasions were renewed at the opening of the eleventh century, and resulted in the actual conquest and rule of the country by the kings of Denmark.

With the coming of William the Conqueror from Normandy in 1066, another strain was added to the English stock. It is true that the Normans were descendants of the Norsemen who had occupied northern France when England was suffering a like invasion. In the intervening centuries Latin culture and refinement had been acquired by the Normans. They served, in consequence, to connect the developing England with the older civilizations of southern Europe, and their language, Norman-French, brought with it new legal ideas and governmental conceptions. After a long period of struggle between the two cultures, a gradual amalgamation took place, which was well advanced by the end of the reign of Henry II (1189). The new contribution added by the Normans had become an integral part of the evolving English type.

The value of racial origins can be overemphasized very easily. It appears to be true that an individual is very largely influenced by his cultural environment. But it is surely

worth while to realize that the Englishman of later centuries was produced from a blending of peoples, a process not unlike that going on to-day in the Western Hemisphere and in many British colonies. Yet it must be remembered that this mixture of racial groups in England has not been pronounced since the twelfth century, as the island was never successfully attacked after the days of William the Conqueror. Peaceful immigrations, such as the coming of the Flemish workmen in the late Middle Ages and of the Huguenots in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, have been of minor importance. Because the blending of peoples in the British Isles took place so long ago, the cultural influences known as British have extended to all classes of the population, giving to the national development a conscious cultural and historical unity. The various races forming the national type were admirably adapted to the daring work of mastering the sea and of empire-building, for they were lovers of the sea and conquerors. Added to this is the fact that the British Isles, in physical character and location, were peculiarly fitted to become the seat of empire, as they had formerly been the object of venturesome, sea-roving invasion.

The earlier history of England is concerned not only with racial combination. For centuries the unification of the British Isles occupied the chief attention of the rulers. Only when the islands forming Great Britain were conquered, could England look beyond to empire.

Until the time of the Normans, England was the extent of the conquered territory. With the strong hand of William the Conqueror holding in no uncertain grasp the control of English affairs, the subjugation of neighboring territory was undertaken. William established palatine earldoms along the Welsh and Scottish frontiers. Toward the close of his reign he even invaded Scotland and Wales, but this by no means meant a complete or permanent conquest of these neighbors. Yet Henry I, his son, compelled Malcolm of Scotland to do homage, and he also completed the conquest of South Wales. The period of anarchy, known as the reign of Stephen, made it necessary to do the work over again.

Henry II (1154–1189) was even ambitious enough to attack Ireland. Strongbow and other adventurers set up a feudal control in the western island, and the King went there in person to assure a mastery of these vassals. Henry II took the title “Lord of Ireland,” being the first English ruler to be master, in the vague feudal sense, of the British islands. The reign of this King was noteworthy for the empire he established; it comprised not only Great Britain but many territories on the Continent. All western France was subject to him from Ponthieu on the north to Gascony in the south. By advantageous marriages of his children and by constant wars he endeavored to hold together this “Angevin Empire.” His life was one of continual military activity, mostly on the Continent; had he not been of almost superhuman energy and ability, the incongruous combination would not have lasted so long as it did. He never spoke the English language, and his interests were more continental than insular. England was really but part of a foreign empire.

The loss of most of the continental possessions by John Lackland in the opening years of the thirteenth century was fortunate for the growth of English unity. The country became more isolated, foreign influence was gradually expelled, and internal problems were given more attention. Great Britain, however, was not yet ready to think of empire. Edward I (1272–1307) gave much of his attention to the conquest of Wales. His son, Edward II, who was born at Carnarvon, was made Prince of Wales, and the title has henceforth been used to designate the heir to the throne. Edward I also fought hard to establish English rule in Scotland. He was partially successful when Balliol was made King of Scotland under terms that made him the vassal of Edward I. But Scotland soon rose under the inspiring lead of Wallace, and, just as Edward I completed his long reign, Robert Bruce headed a revolt that proved ultimately successful. Scotland became a separate, independent kingdom; it was not to be united with England until the personal union of the two countries under the Scotch King, James VI, in 1603.

Much valuable effort was wasted in the attempt to re-

vive English claims to French territory by Edward III and Henry V. As a result, England was more or less continually at war with France for one hundred years, but, by the middle of the fifteenth century, the English were driven from the Continent. Then followed the extremely wasteful civil conflicts known as the "Wars of the Roses." There was great loss of life and material resources in these military struggles that occupied the middle years of the fifteenth century. Gradually, however, the rival claimants to the English throne were removed by a process of elimination. This period of internal struggle came to an end with the accession of Henry VII to the kingship in 1485. As the representative of both rival factions, he brought peace and prosperity, for under his rule and that of his house, the Tudors, was laid the foundation for a strong and aggressive England, able to take part in the larger life of the world.

Wales had been subjugated by Edward I. The Welsh ancestry of Henry VII made it more definitely a part of the kingdom. In 1536, Henry VIII united it with England, and the Welsh counties were given the same rights as the English. Ireland remained a difficult problem, nor has it yet ceased to trouble British statesmen. In the reign of Henry VII, Ireland was practically independent under its feudal and tribal rulers. Henry VIII was the first to assume the title "King of Ireland." His daughter, Elizabeth, gave considerable attention to the Irish question, extending the plantation of the country in a ruthless manner. The Irish problem became more acute at this time, as the English rulers had gone over to the Protestant religion, while the great mass of the Irish were unmoved by the changes taking place to the east. In spite of this ill omen for British unity, the unification of Great Britain was nearer than ever before. With the death of Elizabeth in 1603, James VI became the ruler of England as well as of Scotland, and assumed the title "King of Great Britain." Four years later the first permanent English settlement beyond the seas was made, marking the beginning of a greater Britain.

An important consequence of the accession of James was the

opening of the critical struggle that resulted in the establishment of a parliamentary government in Great Britain. The course of this development need not be exhaustively traced. It will be sufficient to indicate the way in which it culminated in the seventeenth century. The Witan of the Saxon period had at times a restraining power on the monarch. Yet representative government cannot be traced back to that time, as it really was started by the revolts of barons and churchmen against the aggressions of the absolute rulers who governed England after the Norman Conquest.

The most noteworthy step in the checking of the royal power was the forcing of the Magna Charta from King John in 1215. The monarchy was further limited in the next reign by the beginning of a representative body that came to be known as "Parliament." Simon de Montfort, who led the opposition to absolute rule, called a parliament in 1265 to which shires, cities, and boroughs were to send representatives in addition to those of the nobles and the church. Further steps in the direction of representation and the growth of the power of Parliament were taken as time went on. If a king were weak or interested in foreign war and needed funds, additional privileges were wrested from him in payment for grants. For example, Edward I called the "Model Parliament" in 1295 in order to obtain the coöperation of the people in his enterprises. The "Parliament of York" in Edward II's reign established the custom that the consent of the Commons was necessary to make a law valid. The process of impeachment was exercised by the "Good Parliament" in the reign of Edward III. The chaos of the closing centuries of the Middle Ages as well as the despotism of the Tudors in the sixteenth century tended to weaken the power of Parliament and to retard its growth. The ideals had not been forgotten, however, for, when the foreigner, James, came to the throne in 1603, the struggle for the control of the monarch was renewed. "Charles I had his Cromwell" and James II was forced to "vacate" the throne in 1688. In the next year William of Orange — another foreigner — and Mary ascended to power at the re-

quest and by the permission of Parliament. By that time Parliament had effectively curbed the royal power, although much progress had to be made before the representation of the people by Parliament became real.

This brief survey has shown that Great Britain was remarkably prepared to build an empire at the opening of the seventeenth century. Practical unity had been attained at home; there was a strong government under the control of the representative Parliament. Centuries of struggle had moulded a composite people into a group capable of imperial tasks. In the next place, we must consider the conditions outside Great Britain that were so profoundly modifying world affairs as to give to the prepared kingdom of Great Britain the opportunity to go on to empire.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The student of British expansion will have occasion to use the standard guides to the history of Great Britain, but reference must be made to the additional volumes for the colonial development. Sir Charles Lucas, *The British Empire* (London, 1915), is a brief but comprehensive introduction to the subject. A work of somewhat similar character is *Imperial England* (New York, 1919), by C. F. Lavell and C. E. Payne. The best one-volume survey of imperial growth is *The British Empire — Its Past, Its Present, and Its Future*, edited by A. F. Pollard (London, 1909). An indispensable series is the "Historical Geography of the British Colonies," edited by Sir Charles Lucas, and issued by the Oxford Press. The introductory volume, *The Origin and Growth of the English Colonies* (1903), is by H. E. Egerton. The seven volumes of this series, published in parts as twelve, take up the geography and growth of the various colonies; more detailed reference will be made to these volumes in subsequent bibliographies. The series contains excellent maps. A. Wyatt Tilby has published in six volumes a careful and readable account of "The English People Overseas" (London, 1911-14). The first volume of *A Short History of the British Commonwealth* has appeared from the pen of Professor Ramsay Muir (London, 1920); the attempt to make a synthesis of British history by relating the gradual expansion and unification of English influence in the British Isles to the work of empire beyond the seas is carried in this volume to 1763. *The Cambridge Modern History* and the *Dictionary of National Biography* will be found of much value for particular subjects and individuals. The *Annual Register* has been published ever since the time of the Seven Years' War, and furnishes a detailed and contemporary treatment of colonial matters as well as general politics for those to whom it is available.

There are several bibliographical guides that will be found of service. The English Historical Association has published a leaflet on *Books on*

Colonial History. In the "Helps for Students of History" series there is a useful consideration of books on this subject by Professor A. P. Newton, *An Introduction to the Study of Colonial History* (London, 1919). A full bibliography of somewhat older date will be found appended to H. E. Egerton, *A Short History of British Colonial Policy* (London, 1910).

A brief collection of documents has been made by A. B. Keith, *Selected Speeches and Documents on British Colonial Policy, 1763-1917* (2 vols., Oxford, 1918). A useful volume of maps is that of Robertson and Bartholomew, *Historical and Modern Atlas of the British Empire*, published by the Clarendon Press.

CHAPTER II

THE COMMERCIAL REVOLUTION

It is customary to begin modern history with the opening of the sixteenth century. About that time such significant changes were taking place that the break seems more easily made at that point than elsewhere. One of the important reasons for making a convenient division of world-progress about 1500 was the remarkable change occurring at that time in European commercial conditions. It is necessary, in the next place, to see just what this change was, and what part England took in the commercial and industrial movements of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

TRADE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

The emergence of commerce and the development of town life are two very interesting aspects of the later Middle Ages. Some towns evolved from markets or fairs held at convenient places. Others can be connected with certain industries. During the Middle Ages the commercial intercourse that existed was carried on, for the most part, by towns with each other. It is incorrect to speak of a national trade in the Middle Ages. In the towns the trade was controlled at first by organizations known as "merchant guilds." These guilds, which became prominent in the twelfth century, consisted of those of a particular community who were interested in trade. Both the buyer and the seller in a community were protected by the guild which had the monopoly of trade for the town. In England, for example, foreigners from other countries or other English towns were forbidden to trade in such a way as to interfere with the guild's members. Buying and selling had to be in certain specified places, tolls could be exacted, and reciprocal arrangements made with other towns. This protective and fraternal organization later merged into the town government.

As industry developed, the craft gilds were added to the merchant gilds. These became common in the thirteenth century. Craft gilds were composed of members doing a particular kind of manufacture or trade in a particular community. The weavers and fullers of cloth seem to have formed the first craft gilds. Many odd craft names have come down to our day, often as surnames; e.g., the lorimers (makers of bits), goldsmiths, bowyers, fletchers (arrow-makers), tailors, mercers, pepperers (grocers). By the end of Edward III's reign (1377) there were in London about fifty gilds with separate organizations. The remnants of some seventy-five gilds exist to-day in London, no longer controlling in their trades, but exercising by their large ownership of property and their charities an important influence in London municipal affairs.¹ These gilds did much to further industry. Manufacturing was regulated, careful arrangements were made for proficiency in the trades by apprenticeship and for the standardization of the size and quality of goods. Fines were imposed for "false work" and expulsion from the gild might be used as a punishment.

The merchant and craft gilds were still in operation at the close of the Middle Ages. By this time they had outlived their usefulness, although they had done good service in preparing for more comprehensive arrangements. The growth of trade on a large scale, especially with foreign cities, tended to break down the gild system. An increasing national feeling and stronger centralized governments worked toward a more adequate commercial policy.

In its relations commercially with the Continent, England was long dependent for fine manufactured goods on its better developed neighbors. Even the carrying trade was largely in the hands of foreigners for most of the Middle Ages. Great fairs were held in the various parts of England convenient for the bringing of products from afar, and here the people would congregate for their annual purchasing of goods

¹ The twelve great companies of London at the present time are the Mercers, Grocers, Drapers, Fishmongers, Goldsmiths, Skinners, Merchant Taylors, Haberdashers, Salters, Ironmongers, Vintners, and Clothworkers.

not made at home. A famous fair was that of Winchester, which was held mainly for the disposal of woolen goods. The greatest of all English fairs was held in September of each year at Stourbridge near Cambridge. This was attended by merchants from across the seas. Here English raw materials were exchanged for Venetian and Genoese goods from the Far East, for Flemish cloth, French wines, and the varied supply brought by the merchants of the Hanse towns.

England, as the producer of raw materials, was famous for its wool, since the unsettled conditions in Europe — the result of the constant wars — gave to England considerable importance as a sheep-raising country. The chief purchaser of English raw woolens was Flanders, although some went as far as Italy. The evident Flemish interests of the English kings can be accounted for by the desire to keep these markets open, especially as the wool-tax was one of the king's important sources of income. Edward III received annually about £50,000 from this tax. Edward I had named certain ports through which the wool trade could proceed in order that the duties on wool could be more easily collected. This trade was entrusted to an organization known as the "Merchants of the Staple." A patent was issued in 1313 requiring the choice of one staple in the Low Countries to which all wool should be taken; Bruges was the staple in the early fourteenth century. About the middle of that century the staple was removed to England, and later it was located at Calais after that port had become an English possession. Finally the whole system declined because of the growing demand at home for the raw materials, since the Merchants of the Staple dealt only in the raw product.

Impetus was given to the development of the woolen manufacture in England by the immigration of Flemish cloth-makers in large numbers during the fourteenth century. The chief center of the foreign weavers was Norwich, and the principal product was called "Worsted" from Worstead, the place of manufacture. This change by which England became a manufacturing nation as well as a producer of the materials for manufacture is very significant; it meant that

England was to take a more important place in the world's commerce.

ENGLISH COMMERCIAL EXPANSION

English commerce in English ships became important only toward the close of the Middle Ages. Before the sixteenth century, the Hanse merchants and the Italian cities had the major part of English foreign commerce, although the Merchants of the Staple exported raw wool to Flanders. When England began to produce cloth for foreign use, an organization of English merchants known as the "Merchant Adventurers" began to contend with the Hanse for the Baltic trade. By 1505 the Merchant Adventurers had a strong central organization. It was found to be necessary for English merchants to unite, as foreign commerce was hazardous and exposed to attack. As English commerce extended to new fields, companies similar to the Merchant Adventurers were granted trading privileges for particular parts of the European continent or of the new lands being discovered. In the sixteenth century unorganized or free trade existed only with France, Spain, and Portugal. During this time, in consequence, many important companies came into being. The Russian or Muscovy Company was established in 1554. The Mediterranean trade was granted to the Turkey or Levant Company. In 1579 Queen Elizabeth sent William Harburn to Turkey to obtain trading privileges. He was successful, and two years later the Company was organized. Previous to that time the Venetians had been accustomed to send an annual fleet with eastern goods to Southampton. The Barbary or Morocco Company was organized in 1585, and the Guinea Company three years later. In 1600, the most important of all for colonial expansion, the East India Company was chartered. Of similar character are the companies that had to do with early colonizing and commercial activity on the part of England in the Western Hemisphere, such as the Virginia Company, the Plymouth Company, the Hudson's Bay Company.

When Henry VII became King in 1485 he brought peace

to England by the union in his one person of the rival claims to the throne. He accomplished much more. This frugal and business-like King, who left nearly £2,000,000 in his treasury, did a great deal to foster commerce. With his reign the transition from the Middle Ages is made. He offered bounties for the building of large ships, and built at Portsmouth the first drydock in England. In 1493 the Flemings were banished from England and the headquarters of the Merchant Adventurers were moved from Antwerp to Calais. The *Intercursus Magnus* of 1496 was entered into with the Netherlands, and commercial treaties were concluded with many other countries.

Two treaties are of particular interest as showing commercial expansion in widely different fields. In 1490 a treaty was made with Norway permitting the English certain privileges in Iceland, such as the right to form companies, trade directly with that island, and work under favorable customs terms. In the same year a treaty was made with Florence whereby greater freedom of trade was allowed with England, and an English wool staple was established at the port of Pisa. English enterprise soon went farther afield, for we learn that an Englishman by the name of Dionysius Harris was made consul of Candia in 1530.

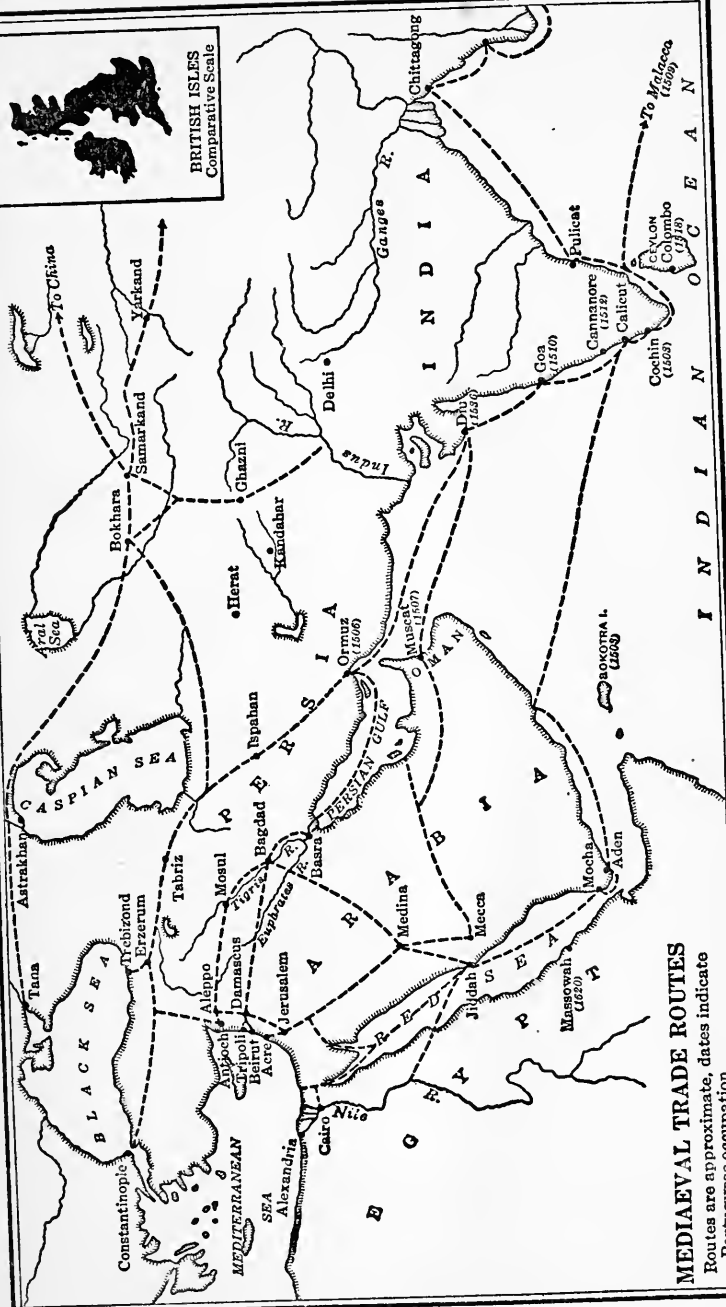
Just at the close of the fifteenth century, Henry VII issued a patent to John Cabot, a Venetian residing at Bristol, to sail in search of a northwest passage to the Far East. In June, 1497, he landed on the North American continent near Cape Breton. With this voyage England had been drawn into the stream of an even wider interest, and the Middle Ages had been left behind. It will now be necessary to find why such a voyage as this should ever have been made.

THE FAR EAST

The desire to come into close touch with the Far East is explained by the variety and value of its goods and their great desirability for European use. There was an insistent demand in Europe for the spices of the East. During the long winters, salt meat and salt fish were the common articles of



BRITISH ISLES
Comparative Scale



MEDIAEVAL TRADE ROUTES

Routes are approximate, dates indicate Portuguese occupation

food. The monotonous diet, the coarse food, and the unskilled cookery justified a generous use of condiments. The only known source for them was Asia. Nutmegs, mace, cloves, and allspice could be obtained only from the Spice Islands or Moluccas, a group of small islands southeast of the Philippines. Pepper was still more valuable than these spices, so much so that it was even eaten separately as a delicacy. In fact, grocers were commonly called "pepperers." Great quantities of this condiment must have been consumed, as the Venetians for years had a contract with the Sultan of Egypt to buy annually 420,000 pounds of pepper. The field of production for pepper was largely confined to the Malabar (southwest) coast of India. Precious stones, fine woods, and perfumes were largely exported from Asia as well. Fine cloths came from various parts of that continent. Calicut gave its name to calico; muslin was named from the Mesopotamian city of Mussolo (the modern Mosul); many names, such as taffeta, damask, brocade, buckram, sendal, cashmere, cubeb, have survived as mute witnesses of this trade.

This important and lucrative commerce followed three routes in the closing centuries of the Middle Ages. There was a southern route which followed the coast of Asia to India and thence along the shore of the Indian Ocean to Mecca. From here the goods of the East were taken by caravan to the Nile, and at Cairo and Alexandria were reloaded on Venetian vessels for Europe. A second course was followed by turning up into the Persian Gulf, where at Bagdad caravans received the riches of the East, and bore them to the coast towns of western Asia Minor, especially Beyrout, Tripoli, and Antioch. Here again Italian merchants were prepared to carry the goods to the western continent. A third route was to the north. It came from the rear of India and China by way of the Caspian to the Black Sea, where the Genoese were the principal receivers of the "spicy drugs" of the East.

Toward the close of the Middle Ages, however, these lines of communication were becoming more and more difficult to

keep open as a result of the growing power of the Ottoman Turks. These fanatical converts to Mohammedanism had the instinct of barbarians; trade and luxury and the arts of peace were to them contemptible. These Osmanli began to expand from their settlements just east of the Sea of Marmora about 1350. By the latter part of the fourteenth century they controlled most of western Asia Minor and eastern Macedonia. By 1450 all of Macedonia and modern Bulgaria and eastern Asia Minor had been conquered. In 1453 the Turks captured Constantinople. In the latter part of the fifteenth century, Crete and Cyprus became theirs; by 1525 Syria and even Egypt had been added to the dominions of the Turks. This progress meant more than the destruction of the Eastern Empire; it seems to have resulted in a partial disruption of trade in the goods for which Europe had conceived a great need. Commerce along the two northern routes, in particular, was hampered during and after the Ottoman conquests in Asia Minor and the Balkan Peninsula. The Turks naturally endeavored to make what they could from this commerce, which became burdened with heavy tolls. In addition, the constant wars caused much dislocation to the commercial relations with the East.

While this situation was taking shape in the Levant, Portugal, a nation hitherto unimportant, was busily engaged in exploring the west coast of Africa. In addition to natural advantages of location, the Portuguese were fortunate in having a very able line of kings in the fifteenth century, who were much interested in the spread of Portuguese power. Various motives seem to have prompted Portuguese maritime activity. The mythical kingdom of Prester John was supposed to be somewhere in central Africa; the Christian zeal of the Portuguese led them to wish to make union with this survival of ancient Judaism in order to wage a further crusade against the encroaching infidel. To the natural interest in exploration and the extension of national influence was added the desire to reach the sources of eastern wealth by a route of their own that they might share in the lucrative commerce which hitherto had come by way of the Mediterra-

nean. Before the western coast of Africa was made known by actual exploration, that continent was not thought to extend so far south. Toward the close of the fifteenth century an interest in a new eastern trade route became strong.¹

The Portuguese prince, known as Henry the Navigator, inaugurated the great work of exploring the coast to the south. He established himself at Sagres near Cape St. Vincent, where he founded an observatory and a school of instruction. Prince Henry not only greatly furthered the science of navigation, but, in addition, he carried forward the practical knowledge of new shores. At the time of his death in 1460, his captains had gone down the west coast of Africa to within fifteen degrees of the equator. In 1471 the Portuguese passed the equator, and in 1487 Bartholomew Diaz rounded the southern end of the continent. It became a Cape of Good Hope, as it was now felt that the point had been reached whence the journey north and east could be easily made.

Vasco da Gama completed this remarkable series of voyages. He sailed from Lisbon in July of 1497, and by Christmas Day had gone beyond the point attained by Diaz; he appropriately gave the name of Natal to the land sighted on that day. In May, 1498, after a twenty-three day voyage across the Indian Ocean, the vessels of the Portuguese ceased their wanderings before Calicut on the Malabar coast of India. A new route had been found. Great was the rejoicing in Lisbon when the expedition returned with a valuable cargo. The King wrote exultantly to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain that the real Indies had been reached by Vasco da Gama: "Of spices they have brought a quantity, including cinnamon, cloves, ginger, nutmeg and pepper . . . also many fine stones of all sorts, such as rubies and others."²

¹ The coincidence in time between the partial closing of the old routes and the exploration of the west African coast by the Portuguese does not mean that the two should be regarded as cause and effect. As a matter of fact, the Portuguese began their African explorations long before there was any serious interference with the Levant trade.

² Quoted by Bourne, *Spain in America*, p. 73.

The Portuguese immediately set about the task of making this new-found wealth their own. "Factories" or trading posts were established on the Malabar coast of India, of which Goa is still in Portuguese possession. In 1511 Malacca in the Malay Straits was taken, and in the next year the Spice Islands were added to the dominions of the Portuguese king. But it was not deemed sufficient to possess the lands whence the valuable products of the East came. To make their monopoly of the eastern trade more secure, Sokotra and Aden on the Red Sea route were occupied. In addition Ormuz on the Persian Gulf became a Portuguese holding in order to prevent goods going to Europe by way of Bagdad. These steps served not only as a means of hampering Arabian trade; the commerce of the Italian cities was further restricted.

THE NEW WEST

Meanwhile, in 1492 Columbus had made his memorable voyage across the Atlantic. The story of his efforts to find a patron, and of his belief that by sailing westward he could reach the Indies, has often been told. It is clear that the Far East was his goal, for, when he left Spain, he took with him a letter from Ferdinand and Isabella to the Great Khan. Moreover, a converted Jew by the name of Torres accompanied the expedition in order to act as interpreter because of his knowledge of Arabic. When, after his landfall, Columbus heard of Cuba, he believed it to be Cipango, and made plans for a visit to the Great Khan. He thought himself to be in front of Zaitun with its hundred pepper ships a year, as he noted on his copy of Marco Polo. On reaching Cuba he imagined it was the mainland, and sent ahead the interpreter to the Great Khan. But Torres found only a village of naked Indians, who were drawing smoke from leaves rolled in the form of a tube, which they called tobacco. Columbus died after a checkered career in the belief that he had found the East by a new route. His contemporaries soon realized that he had discovered a new continent with large opportunities for exploitation. Columbus sought nutmegs

and pepper, pearls and cubebs, and to that extent his work was a failure.

The English took but a modest part in the task of exploration. Columbus' brother, Bartholomew, had come to London in 1487 in the hope of interesting Henry VII in his brother's plans. He was robbed by pirates on the way, and found employment at the English court in drawing maps and making globes, but was unsuccessful in his mission. John Cabot, a Genoese by birth, a Venetian by naturalization, and a resident of Bristol during the last decade of the century, was more fortunate. In 1496 he obtained permission from Henry VII to sail in quest of Cathay. He hoped to reach "the island of Cipango and the lands from which Oriental caravans brought their goods to Alexandria." The discoveries of Cabot were for a time believed to have given the King of England "a part of Asia without drawing the sword."¹ This venture deserves especial recognition for its daring, as Cabot had but one small vessel manned with eighteen men. But in spite of this meager equipment he discovered land in 1497. He made a second journey in 1498 from which he never returned. John Cabot's son, Sebastian, followed the profession of his father, although much of his time was spent in the service of Spain. Later in the century he returned to England, where he became head of the Company of Merchant Adventurers and led in the organization and sending forth of expeditions to discover a northeast sea-passage to India. Sebastian, who died just as Elizabeth became queen, serves as the link between the early voyages of exploration and the great days of the Elizabethan seamen.

The development from inter-municipal trade in the early Middle Ages to the great national interest in exploration in the fifteenth century has been briefly traced. These explorations were so remarkably rapid in their consequences that this time of change has been aptly named the "Commercial Revolution." The difficulties put in the way of trade in the Levant by the Turks and the discovery of a sea-route around Africa to the Far East ruined the great Mediterranean city-

¹ See Cheyney, *The European Background of American History*, p. 5.

states, as great commercial traders and carriers. Trade began to center on the western coast of Europe. In the early days of this change — for most of the sixteenth century — Portugal was supreme in the eastern trade. In addition to the trade with the Far East a world of opportunity was found to the west across the Atlantic. These new worlds, suddenly made accessible to the maritime nations of western Europe, gave a magnificent field for the establishment of colonial empires.

Wealth greatly increased during this period and the nations were more than ever influenced by commercial motives. As a consequence, the trading classes became more important. With the sixteenth century we enter a new atmosphere. It is no whim of historians that Modern History is felt to begin at this time, for, indeed, "History broke in halves." By this change England could not but be greatly affected. Henry VII, patron of John Cabot and of all profitable commercial ventures, excellently illustrates the new type of thrifty monarch. For a while England played but a modest part in this world-drama evolving so rapidly. The Age of Elizabeth was to come and go before England stood beside Spain and Portugal in the establishment of colonial empire.

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CHAPTER III

THE FOUNDATION FOR EMPIRE

THE rapid progress of Portuguese and Spanish exploration soon gave to these two states the major part of the newly found lands. John Cabot's voyage entitled the English to go forward in like manner. But the first half of the fifteenth century found Englishmen lethargic; they did not awaken to their opportunities until aroused by the wonderful achievements of their seamen. The causes for this inertia will be considered presently. But in the meantime the Spanish Empire grew with unabated vigor. Later when the English began the making of empire, the Spanish structure was already well builded. As the work of Spain considerably modified the nature of English expansion, the growth of Spain's oversea power must be briefly told.

THE SPANISH EMPIRE

In the sixteenth century a colony was a very real and exclusive possession of the mother country. When Columbus went forth under the flag of Spain, he was cautioned not to trespass on the Portuguese possessions in Africa. In particular, he was not to visit the coast of Guinea, as Spain had recognized by a treaty in 1479 the exclusive rights of Portugal to lands discovered in Guinea and the islands off the coast with the exception of the Canaries. As soon as news was received that Columbus had discovered new lands, Ferdinand and Isabella set about assuring their control of his discoveries.

The Spanish rulers informed the Pope, Alexander VI, of their newly acquired possessions and asked confirmation of their ownership. Accordingly the Pope, in a bull of 1493, gave them possession of the lands discovered in the west toward the Indies in the "Ocean Sea." Mere confirmation, however, was too vague. Later in the year a second bull was issued establishing a north and south line one hundred

leagues west of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands and reserving all lands to the west of that line for Spain. This did not satisfy John of Portugal, and he opened direct negotiations with the Spanish rulers. The result was the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494), by which the demarcation line was moved to a point three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. In consequence, Brazil was to become Portuguese territory; as yet it had not been discovered, nor had Vasco da Gama made his voyage to Calicut.

With matters so settled, the rapidly developing Spanish kingdom built empire in amazingly quick fashion. Columbus made three more voyages, skirting the mainland of Central America for a considerable distance and touching South America near Trinidad. Hojeda, just at the close of the century, sailed along the coast of the present British Guiana and Venezuela. Shortly afterward Pinzon discovered land on the shores of Brazil. When the Portuguese finally found India, it became evident to the Spanish that there was a barrier in their way to the attainment of the same goal. Columbus seems to have thought that this barrier was an extremity of Asia. It was felt that there must be a strait through or a way around the *Novus Mundus* by which to obtain the pepper of the East. In 1508, Pinzon, after proving Cuba an island, followed the coast of Central and South America for several thousand miles. Five years later, Balboa from a "peak in Darien" viewed the Pacific, taking possession of the sea for the King of Spain, and in the same year Ponce de Leon discovered Florida.

Renewed interest in a strait resulted in the expedition of Solis in 1514. The Rio de la Plata was discovered, but no passageway to the Pacific was revealed. Five years later, a Portuguese mariner named Magellan persuaded the Spanish King, whose service he had recently entered, that the Moluccas could be reached without trespassing on Portuguese territory. In 1519, he started with five ships and coasted down the eastern shore of South America, passing through the Strait of Magellan in 1520. The Pacific Ocean was given its name, and the Philippines were discovered, but there Ma-

gellan fell battling with the natives. His comrades visited the Spice Islands where they procured a precious cargo, crossed the Indian Ocean, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and reached Spain after three years' absence. One ship bearing thirty-one men had succeeded in circumnavigating the globe and discovering a way around the great obstruction between Europe and the Spice Islands.

Spanish explorers on land were as successful as those on the sea. Cortéz conquered Mexico while Magellan was on his memorable voyage. The southern half of the United States became known through the expedition of De Soto and the explorations of Coronado and da Vaca. Pizarro, in 1531, succeeded in conquering Peru with its well-nigh unlimited sources of wealth, and by 1540, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Chile had been added to the Spanish Empire. When the mid-century was reached, the work of the Spanish conquerors was practically accomplished. By the end of the sixteenth century, Spain possessed the great empire of the New World to the west. In 1580, the kingdom of Portugal had been added to the Spanish dominions, and, as a consequence, the New World of the East fell under the sway of the Catholic kings.

HENRY VIII AND ELIZABETH

With this record of achievement, England has nothing to compare. The first half of the century was practically barren of oversea exploration; the work of John Cabot was not continued. Possibly the unsatisfactory character of the lands discovered and the roughness of the North Atlantic help to account for this hesitancy. Nevertheless, England's political relation to the Continent was probably the most important hindrance to expansion.

Henry VIII had succeeded his father in 1509. As the second of the Tudor line, his throne was not any too secure, and he had to tread the mazes of foreign policy carefully. The connection with Spain seemed important enough for Henry to marry the Spanish princess Catherine, the widow of his deceased brother. When Charles I of Spain became the Emperor Charles V in 1519, Henry became his ally. Henry's

policy changed about 1527, as he no longer felt any need of keeping on good terms with the Spanish King or with the Pope. Various motives were back of this reversal of policy; Charles' opposition to the English monarch's desire for French territory, Henry's distaste for his Spanish wife, the attraction of Anne Boleyn, all played a part. Over the question of the divorce, Henry broke off relations with the papal court, made himself Supreme Head of the Church in England, suppressed the monasteries — much to the help of his pocketbook — and ruled State and Church as an absolute monarch. The Reformation was in progress on the Continent at the time, but Henry was not of the reforming type; the Reformation received official sanction in England only after his death. The years of his reign were replete with problems of European foreign policy and internal adjustments. The reign of his son, Edward VI, continued the struggle over religious matters, which, in the years of Mary's rule (1553–58), resulted in the reestablishment of Catholicism and her marriage to Philip II of Spain.

During this half-century England was not the sworn enemy of Spain, but on friendly terms for most of the time with that expanding state. The rulers of England were too much concerned with European politics to give attention to empire. And yet it would be unfair to omit mention of Henry's interest in the navy, which served indirectly to prepare for the accomplishments of the Elizabethan seamen. The primary aim of the King was not empire-building, but the improvement of the national defense. Against France and Scotland a good navy was an essential. When the French besieged the English in Boulogne and when the Scotch attempted to do the same to Henry's friends in St. Andrews, the need for an adequate navy was evident. The King was largely dependent on private vessels impressed for war service, as there was no permanent staff of naval officers. In fact, the ships of the Cinque Ports were still an important part of the national defense.¹

¹ The great ports on the southeast coast of England were given special privileges as early as the reign of Edward I in return for defending the southern sea-

The *Henry Grace de Dieu* was launched in 1515 in the Thames. It was a five-masted vessel and was the largest ship then afloat. So earnest had been Henry's efforts for improving England's sea-power that the King was able to muster one hundred and fifty vessels when invasion seemed imminent in 1539. In 1545, a Navy Board was established for the first time. Henry also founded a gild, now known as Trinity House, for the supply of trained pilots with power to make "all and singular articles in any wise concerning the science and art of mariners." He also founded Woolwich dockyard. At his death Henry left a fleet of seventy-one vessels. All this is exceedingly important for our understanding of England's later greatness on the sea, for, with Henry VIII, England became a real maritime state. The time of test for this growing naval strength was to come in the reign of Elizabeth.

When Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, became Queen in 1558, peculiar difficulties faced the new ruler, which called for all her diplomatic ability and caution. Two religious factions, an extreme Catholic and a violent reforming party, were fighting for power. Elizabeth, however, could be nothing but a Protestant and retain her self-respect, for she was the fruit of Henry's marriage after he broke with Rome. Elizabeth hoped by pursuing a middle course to avoid serious complications and to please the majority of her subjects. There was real reason for this caution, as a possible occupant of the throne was Mary, Queen of the Scots, and a Catholic; if Spain by any chance should make war with England and should make up with France, England would be a Protestant country surrounded by enemies eager to take advantage of any slip or weakness. This meant that Elizabeth had to be particularly careful in foreign relations, especially avoiding open war with Spain.

board of the island. Until the time of the Tudors they furnished nearly all of the ships, and for some time after gave much assistance to the permanent fleet. Originally, they were five in number — "Sandwich and Romney, Hastings, Hithe and Dover" — but later were increased to seven by the addition of Rye and Winchelsea. Their task is recalled in Longfellow's "The Warden of the Cinque Ports."

As the long reign progressed, it was more and more difficult to keep a neutral course. Catholicism, of which Philip II was regarded as the great champion, was becoming aggressive in its efforts to recover ground lost earlier in the century to the Reformation. The Council of Trent (1545-63) had restated the doctrines of the Catholic Church in such a way as to make them effective against the Protestants. The Order of the Jesuits, founded by Loyola in 1540, made increasing efforts to further the Catholic cause by its absolute obedience to the wishes of the Pope. Mary, Queen of Scots, who had returned to Scotland in 1561, was forced to flee to England six years later for refuge from her disgusted subjects. There she was imprisoned for twenty years, but, in spite of that, Mary was always a center of Catholic revolt against Elizabeth. The Jesuits, to make matters worse for the English, established a school at Douai, whence priests especially trained to win England back to the Catholic Church went across the Channel in increasing numbers. The Huguenot Wars in France and the revolt of the Netherlands against Spain gave the English Queen alternate hope and despair.

At last, in the eighties, the veiled conflict of England and Spain became open war. The English Queen gave assistance to the Netherlands in 1585 because Philip II of Spain and Henry of Guise in France had agreed to drive Protestantism from both France and the Netherlands. Philip thereupon planned an attack upon England and the Netherlands simultaneously, while the Catholics of England were to rise in favor of the imprisoned Mary. This plan, added to plots against the life of Elizabeth, sealed the doom of the Scotch Queen, who was executed in 1587. Shortly after, the Great Armada of Spain descended on England. The struggle between the two countries had become a death-grapple.

Before describing the event that gave to the English their mastery of the sea, attention must be called to another cause for Spanish enmity. As a matter of fact, it was probably not religious animosity or even anger at Elizabeth's assistance to the Netherlands that led to Philip's direct at-

tack on England. The Spanish Empire and its valuable commerce had become the prey of the daring English "sea-dogs."

THE ELIZABETHAN SEAMEN

There had been a growing estrangement between the "tight" little island and the Spanish dominions, for which the reasons are not hard to find. For one thing, the exclusive nature of Spain's colonial system made it impossible for any other nation to trade legitimately with Spanish colonies and thus share, even to a small degree, in the riches flowing in such abundance to Madrid. The Spanish colonial policy was so framed as to restrict the trade of the Empire to Spanish subjects. Furthermore, not even all of Philip's subjects could carry on trade with the colonies, as Cadiz and Seville were declared to be the only places from which ships could sail to the colonies and to which they could return. The vessels for the colonies went in fleets after 1561; each year two fleets were supposed to go, although in some years this service was interrupted. The fleet system enabled the fleets to be protected by an escort and made the collection of customs dues easier. The sale of goods in the colonies was carried on in fairs in specified places such as Cartagena and Porto Bello (near Colon). When the fleet arrived at Cartagena, trade in European goods was prohibited between Lima and Quito. On account of the great rigidity of this system and its unfairness to certain parts of the Spanish colonies, the colonists were not averse to illicit trade with foreigners, and such people as the English, with their growing commerce, were able to take advantage of the opportunities thus offered, even though it were at a high risk.

This growing English commerce made the situation from England's point of view a more and more difficult one. Theoretically, England could not trade at all with the Far East or the new West; the only hope of Englishmen was to find a new route to the Oriental sources of wealth, as the trade routes were as much of a monopoly as the lands to which they led. Valiant attempts were made to find a northeast as

well as a northwest passage to the Indies. Under Sebastian Cabot's direction, a joint-stock company was formed in London, and an expedition was sent out under Chancellor and Willoughby in 1553. Archangel was reached, and an outlet was found for English commerce. This was a notable achievement, as it opened a way for English trade through Russia to the Caspian Sea and the lands farther east, under the guidance of the Russia or Muscovy Company.¹

In the eighties, three important trading companies were formed, the Turkey, the Morocco, and the Guinea Companies. In the nineties daring English seamen even rounded the Cape of Good Hope. English trade was developing so fast that sooner or later it could not but come into conflict with Spain's great monopoly of the desirable sources for tropical wealth.

Probably the most important reason for the growing trouble between Philip and Elizabeth lay in the growth of the spirit of English maritime adventure. This is an intangible force to appraise, but its effects were soon evident. Much of the "spaciousness" of the reign of good Queen Bess lay in the energizing breath of the salt sea and in the enlarging freedom that came to cramped muscles with the achievements of the Elizabethan buccaneers. It is the story over again of the Northmen of the early Middle Ages, with England now the source and not the object of the sea-roving expeditions.

One of the foremost mariners of the age was John Hawkins. His name is particularly connected with the beginning of the African slave-trade with America. The Spanish planters

¹ A notable Englishman connected with this development was Anthony Jenkinson. In 1553, he had been at Aleppo and had obtained from Solyman the Great the right to trade in Turkish ports without hindrance. Two years later, he became a member of the Mercer's Company and headed the Muscovy fleet in 1557. He made three journeys into Russia, visiting the Czar and obtaining for Englishmen the monopoly of trade in the White Sea. Jenkinson also penetrated Persia and went as far as Bokhara in the interests of trade; he was the first Englishman to go into Central Asia. A document granting him a coat of arms tells the story of many others of his time; in the grant he is described as "one who for the service of his prince, weal of his country, and for knowledge sake, hath not feared to adventure and hazard his life and to wear his body with long and painful travel into divers and sundry countries." See the *Dictionary of National Biography*, xxix, 309.

were in need of workmen, but the natives of the New World died in great numbers under the restraint and hard labor imposed upon them. Las Casas, the great missionary to the Indies, had advocated the use of the blacks from Africa as a providential plan for protecting the natives of the New World, whose souls he was so intent on saving. In accordance with this benevolent purpose, Hawkins made his first voyage in 1562. Three hundred negroes were obtained in Guinea and sold with profit in San Domingo for hides, ginger, sugar, and pearls. In 1565 a second cargo of slaves was obtained and again disposed of, though with more difficulty than before, as Spain had taken measures to prevent this illegal trade. So successful was this expedition that Elizabeth granted Hawkins a coat of arms, the heraldic emblems of which include symbols that indicate that there was thought to be something akin to a crusade in Hawkins' expeditions.¹

A third expedition of five ships went out in 1567, again led by the *Jesus*, and with young Francis Drake as commander of one of the vessels. Between four and five hundred negroes were exported to the West Indies. The narrative in Hakluyt reads: "We coasted from place to place, making our traffic with the Spaniards as we might, somewhat hardly, because the king had straitly commanded all his governors in those parts by no means to suffer any trade to be made with us. Notwithstanding, we had reasonable trade, and courteous treatment, from the isle of Margarita to Cartagena." But this good fortune did not continue. At a town called Rio de la Hache, "from whence come all the pearls," they had to storm the place in order to obtain sale for their human goods. In the harbor of St. John de Ullua, the port of Mexico, they were treacherously attacked by the Spaniards, after having been promised safety. Only two vessels were

¹ It is difficult to see how gentlemen could have engaged in this wretched business, but there were few to find fault in those days. Hawkins' flagship was named the *Jesus*, and his sailing orders included the admonition to "serve God daily." On the second voyage, the fleet was becalmed in mid-ocean, but when the wind finally arose, Hawkins' comment was, "Almighty God, who never suffereth his elect to perish, sent us the ordinary breeze."

able to escape; in one was Hawkins and in the other was Francis Drake.¹

Hawkins remained in England for some years after this disastrous voyage. In 1573 he was made Treasurer and Controller of the Royal Navy, contributing by his practical experience much that made the superiority of the English vessels in the fight with the Spanish Armada so outstanding. Drake took his revenge in more spectacular fashion. He became the "Dragon," so successful was he in terrifying the Spanish by his bold attacks on their shipping; his circumnavigation of the globe carried his revenge into seas that had hitherto been the exclusive possession of the Spanish.

This famous voyage began in 1577 with five ships, of which the largest was the *Pelican*, of one hundred tons. After the Strait of Magellan was passed, the flagship had to go on alone. The account of the *Pelican's* northward journey reads like a fairy story. At Valparaiso the English plundered a large ship and rifled the town: "We came to a small chapel which we entered, and found therein a silver chalice, two cruets and one altar cloth, the spoil whereof our General gave to M. Fletcher his minister." At Tarapaca they found a Spaniard lying asleep with thirteen bars of silver beside him: "We took the silver and left the man." At Arica fifty-seven wedges of silver were acquired. At Lima, Drake learned of a treasure-ship that had recently departed for the Isthmus. All haste was made, and the vessel was overtaken: "We found in her great riches, as jewels and precious stones, thirteen chests full of reals of plate, four-score pound weight of gold and six-and-twenty ton of silver." Not long thereafter a vessel was met containing much linen and China dishes and China silks, "all of which things we took as we listed." It was at this point that Drake began to plan for the return voyage, "thinking himself both in respect of his private injuries received from the Spaniards, as also their contempts and indignities offered to our country and prince in general, sufficiently satisfied and revenged."

¹ See *Voyages of the Elizabethan Seamen*, edited by E. J. Payne (Oxford, 1907), pp. 71 ff.

The intrepid Drake decided to return by way of Asia and the Cape of Good Hope. After going northwards along the American coast probably as far as Oregon, the *Pelican* went across the Pacific. A stop was made at the Spice Islands, in due time the Cape of Good Hope was passed, and the *Pelican* ended its three-year voyage around the world in 1580. Great was the Spanish wrath, but Drake's reception at home was enthusiastic. The Queen received him with undisguised favor, making him a knight on board his ship.¹

During the years that Drake was away, Sir Humphrey Gilbert attempted to colonize Newfoundland. But he was lost at sea in 1583, and his half-brother, Walter Raleigh, succeeded to his patent rights. Raleigh made a number of efforts to colonize the country called Virginia, where in 1587 an ill-fated colony was established at Roanoke. John White, who returned to England from Virginia to obtain help for the new colony, found no sign of life when he went back to Roanoke in 1591; what happened to this "lost" colony has been a subject of much conjecture.

Numerous other exploits might be added to the list already made, but these are typical of the work of the Elizabethan seamen. The motives were varied; plunder, commerce, and colonization all have a place, with the desire for easily won wealth as the usual spring of action.

John White was delayed on his return to England in obtaining succor for the needy colonists at Roanoke. He found that Philip and Elizabeth at last were waging open conflict. The defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 was the climax of the work of the Elizabethan seamen. The story of this running sea-fight is well known and need not be retold here. Suffice it to say that Philip felt that the only thing to do was to attack his covert enemy openly and at home. A great fleet was fitted out, but its one hundred and thirty vessels were better prepared to carry troops than to fight battles at sea. The English had advanced rapidly in maritime science in the years immediately preceding, and their heavily armed and mobile ships were manned by men trained to the sea. In the

¹ See *Voyages of Elizabethan Seamen* for the contemporary account.

great sea-battle in which the Spanish Armada was defeated, the enemy of England lost sixty-three ships in the fight and as a result of the storms encountered on the return voyage. The English lost no vessels, and but sixty-eight men were killed or wounded.¹

The significance of this victory for the Empire was great; as Seeley's words attest: "Here begins the modern history of England." The English had shown themselves masters of the sea; the dreaded Spaniard was no longer to be feared. On the contrary, the war which followed was carried to Spain itself, for Drake led an expedition to Lisbon — at that time a Spanish possession — where sixty vessels were seized. A crusading spirit was developed against Spain, and England was unified and strengthened by its great victory. Not only did the mastery of the sea lead England to think of empire, but it produced a national patriotism in proportions hitherto unknown.

Literature expressed this new national feeling and optimism. The chroniclers put into form the accounts of the various exploits that had shown the "mettle" of the English on the "vasty fields" of the sea. Hakluyt in 1582 published *Divers Voyages Touching the Discovery of America*, and in 1589 his *Principall Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation*. So great was its success that a larger edition appeared in 1600. Samuel Purchas early in the next century supplemented the work of Hakluyt by having printed *Purchas His Pilgrimes, Containing a History of the World in Sea-Voyages, and Land-Travells by Englishmen and Others*.

One of the most familiar and classic expressions of this national temper is the description of the proud and confident England of Elizabeth's day in Shakespeare's *Richard II*:

This royal throne of kings, this sceptred isle,
This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
This other Eden, demi-paradise;
This fortress built by Nature for herself
Against infection and the hand of war;

¹ On the base of Drake's statue at Plymouth are the words: "Efflavit Deus et dissipati sunt."

This happy breed of men, this little world,
 This precious stone set in the silver sea,
 Which serves it in the office of a wall
 Or as a moat defensive to a house,
 Against the envy of less happier lands.

With the close of this great age we have reached the beginnings of Greater Britain. The English had come to see, as Henry VIII was reported (by Lord Herbert of Cherbury) to have said on an earlier occasion: "England alone is a just Empire, or when we enlarge ourselves, let it be in that way we can and to which it seems the eternal providence hath destined us, which is by the sea." The defeat of the Armada made this a conviction with Englishmen and began the "modern history of England."

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CHAPTER IV

THE BEGINNINGS OF EMPIRE IN THE WEST

THE sixteenth century has been found to be fundamental in the preparation for empire by its enlargement of the scope of English maritime interest. There was also the beginning of a navy and the formation of trading companies for the monopolization of the English commercial relations with the various parts of the non-European world. The seventeenth century, with these accomplishments as a foundation, served as the age in which the imperial structure was begun, an empire that grew with the succeeding years so that by the end of the nineteenth century it girdled the earth. Although the major emphasis of the present volume is on the modern conditions, the genesis of the Empire is so important that it warrants careful attention.

THE STUARTS

The political conditions in England during this century were so unsettled that it is surprising that any time was found for things over the sea. When Elizabeth died in 1603, the throne went to James VI of Scotland, who became the first Stuart ruler of Great Britain, under the title of James I. The union of the two countries was not a real or organic one, but a nominal one only effected by the person of the ruler; the actual union was retarded for one hundred years. For numerous reasons James was ill-fitted to rule his dominions: he regarded himself as a paragon of wisdom; he held excessive opinions concerning divine right; in person, speech, and manner he was eccentric and unkingly. James ruled until his death in 1625 in conflict with Parliament concerning his prerogatives, endeavoring to keep on good relations with Spain, permitting England to take an ignoble place in continental affairs, causing much bitterness among his subjects, and leaving to Charles I, his son, an empty treasury and numerous problems.

Charles I began his reign sorely pressed financially, and Parliament was determined to take advantage of this to obtain more privileges. In 1628 the Petition of Right was forced on the King, but the next year Charles dissolved Parliament and endeavored to rule the country until 1640 without the assistance of this pugnacious body. Taxation was arbitrary, and the king's prerogatives seemed to be increasing. Moreover, Puritan sentiment was outraged, as Charles seemed to be going in the direction of Roman Catholicism. When the Long Parliament met in 1640, the struggle between the King and the people reached a more acute stage. The result was the beginning of the Civil War in 1642, a conflict that ended with the King's execution in 1649.

For the next eleven years the Commonwealth, controlled by Cromwell and the army, was the form of government. A rather vigorous foreign policy was entered upon, eventuating in war with the Dutch and the rapid decline of that state as the commercial rival of England. In 1660 the restoration of the Stuart line, in the person of Charles II, brought about the overthrow of Puritan rule in politics and life. Religious toleration was granted, an alliance was made with the Portuguese by Charles' marriage to Catherine of Braganza, and another war with the Dutch ensued. As the reign progressed, there was growing evidence of increasing intimacy between Charles and the Catholic ruler of France, Louis XIV, and the country again became fearful of possible Romanism in its rulers.

When James II succeeded his brother in 1685, this fear became a fact, as James was a Roman Catholic. Yet even this could be endured with the prospect of a Protestant successor. But when a son was born to the King by his Catholic wife this possibility vanished. In addition, his high-handed measures against Parliament and his Indulgences for the Catholics created such ill-feeling that there was a revolution. James was allowed to leave the country and was succeeded by William of Orange and his wife, Mary, a Protestant daughter of James II. Under these rulers, the two former enemies, England and Holland, were united. The assent of

the new King and Queen to the Declaration of Right meant rapid progress in the Parliamentary control of the government.

The early years of the seventeenth century were not so favorable for an interest in external affairs and commercial enterprise as were the closing years of the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, so sure was the foundation and widespread the interest that trade increased and settlements of a permanent character began — and this in spite of financial extravagance and bad administration by England's rulers. The navy, which deteriorated in the first years of the century, was assiduously built up by Charles I, and proved adequate under the Commonwealth and the Restoration for the naval wars with the Dutch. The internal disorders during the middle of the century tended to the confusion of English foreign interests. Yet the very unsettlement at home caused emigration. The royal need for money led to lavish grants to speculative subjects and to the establishment of "wild-cat" schemes. Empire in any ordered progressive manner was not being built. It was largely despite lack of policy that expansion came on the heels of trade. The motives that led to settlement can best be clarified by a review of what was done by Englishmen in various parts of the world

JAMESTOWN

The first permanent colony was established in Virginia. Sir Walter Raleigh, who obtained from the Queen a continuation of the patent rights of his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, attempted to colonize Virginia. It was in the year before the defeat of the Spanish Armada that the "lost" colony had been founded at Roanoke.¹ But Raleigh, who fell into ill favor when James became King, lost his rights. The First Virginia Charter, under which a permanent plantation took place, was granted in 1606.² The right to "make Habitation, Plantation, and to deduce a Colony of sundry of our People into that Part of America, commonly called Virginia, and other Parts and Territories in America, either appertaining

¹ See p. 32.

² It is to be found conveniently in Macdonald's *Select Charters*, pp. 1 ff.

unto us, or which are not now actually possessed by any Christian Prince or People," was granted to a Company including George Somers, Richard Hakluyt, Raleigh Gilbert, and George Popham. There were two companies: one consisting of certain "Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants and other Adventurers" of London with the right to "plant" between thirty-four and forty-one degrees north latitude along the coast; the other was composed of "sundry" gentlemen of Bristol, Exeter, Plymouth and other places with the privilege of making settlements between thirty-eight and forty-five degrees north latitude. The region between the thirty-eighth and the forty-first parallels was common ground, the company first settling it to have one hundred miles of adjacent seacoast. But neither company appropriated the coast where the grants overlapped. The charter provided for a Council of Virginia in England — appointed by the King — and councils in America.

Article sixteen is of more than passing importance. It reads: "All and every the Persons, being our Subjects, which shall dwell and inhabit within every and any of the said several Colonies and Plantations, and every of their children . . . shall have and enjoy all Liberties, Franchises and Immunities within any of our Dominions . . . as if they had been abiding and born within this our Realm of England." This remarkable provision foreshadowed a different colonial policy than the world had seen hitherto. By it Englishmen were acknowledged as free to live in England's colonies and yet retain their rights under the English common law. It need hardly be said that the progress to be made in the conflict with Charles I was not within the view of the monarch who granted the charter to Virginia. It was interpreted, nevertheless, as a transportation of English law and the developing constitution beyond the island which gave them birth. Besides, it was a distinct step beyond trade to permanent settlement.

The London Company sent colonists out in the winter of 1606-07, and they settled at a place they named Jamestown in May of 1607 on the banks of the James River. It is impossible here to detail their trying experiences, interesting

as they would be. Starvation, ill-considered sites for settlement, disease and dissension, all helped to bring misfortune. Over three fourths of the two hundred original settlers died in the first two years. When the Virginia Company was dissolved in 1624, almost £200,000 had been expended. Why this prodigal waste of life and treasure? We have a hint of their aims in the charter, article nine of which reads in part: "The said several Councils . . . may . . . dig, mine and search for all Manner of Mines of Gold, Silver and Copper, as well within any part of their said several Colonies, as for the said Main Lands on the Backside of the same Colonies." The King was to have twenty per cent of the gold and a fifteenth of the copper.¹

It arouses compassion to read of the efforts to find treasure in a country we now know could not possibly fulfill the expectations of the Virginian settlers. The Order in Council for the guidance of the colonists directed them to explore the country with a band of twenty men provided with pickaxes to discover metals. One of the leaders took "gold" ore back to England in the summer of 1607, only to find it worthless. Yet Captain Newport returned with two goldsmiths, two refiners, and a jeweler. Captain John Smith reported that in Virginia there was "no talk, no hope, no work, but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, load gold."

Another motive for the establishment of the colony is revealed in the instructions which were prepared for the Council; they were directed to find a river which would be navigable for a long distance, especially one with a northwestern bend, "for in that way you shall soonest find the other sea." In 1608 Captain Newport received private instructions to find, if possible, the true route to the South Sea. This quest seems to us absurd, as we now realize that it is a journey of fully

¹ The popular notion that Virginia was the home of gold was expressed in a play called *Eastward Ho*, written in 1605: "I tell thee golde is more plentifull in Virginia than copper is with us. All the chaines with which they chaine up their streets are massie gold; all the prisoners they take are fettered in golde, and for rubies and diamonds, they goe forth in holidays and gather them by the seashore to hang on their children's coates and sticke in their children's caps as commonly as our children wear saffron, gilt breeches and groates with hoales in them." Quoted in Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia*, 1, 14.

three thousand miles across the continent at the latitude of the James River. Yet Drake had sailed up the west coast past this degree; to cross to the coast he had explored did not appear an impossibility to his contemporaries. Ralph Lane, in his account of the Roanoke colony, stated that he had been informed by the Indians that it required a journey of only thirty days to the headwaters of a river which gushed out of a rock so near to the other sea that the waves of the latter very often dashed over into the river in time of storm. Lane traveled one hundred and sixty miles inland searching for this curious physical phenomenon, which even the men of that day should have realized was impossible.

Gradually the true worth of the colony was understood. Captain John Smith urged the saner and more prosaic task of agriculture, but the possibilities of the land were realized but slowly. By 1609 about forty acres had been cleared and planted to corn. Not until 1612 did the colonists begin the cultivation of tobacco. John Rolfe, the husband of Pocahontas, started the cultivation of the weed with a small patch for his own use. In this modest fashion began the crop which has been the staple product of Virginia for two hundred and seventy-five years. With the profitable growth of tobacco the permanency of the colony was assured, since the demand for tobacco was increasing in Europe despite the severe restrictions placed upon its use in some countries.

The adaptability of Virginian soil for tobacco culture shaped decisively the future character of the colony. Tobacco required virgin soil for its production in perfection. As artificial fertilizers were unknown, the effect was greatly to extend the bounds of a plantation beyond the ground actually used at one time. This meant a system of large plantations, each standing by itself with its own laborers and mechanics, a system that developed an independent self-reliant type with the inevitable growth of a landed aristocracy. Silk, rice, indigo, and wheat were cultivated to some extent, but rarely for export, as the profit on tobacco was much greater. It was not long before Virginia became a great colony along the shores of the Chesapeake and up the numerous rivers.

Had it not been for tobacco, Jamestown would probably have been but one more fruitless attempt at colonization.

Virginia enjoyed an exceptional measure of self-government. In 1609 a second charter was granted, which differed from the first in leaving the whole control practically in the hands of the stockholders of the Company. Three years later, another charter was issued by King James, allowing still greater powers to the Company, even to that of holding meetings of the stockholders under the name of the "Great and General Courts." Shortly after this, the Company went into the hands of Puritan leaders, the most prominent of whom was Sir Edwin Sandys. He had been a radical reformer in England, and was inclined to experiment in this direction in the new American colony. The first Governor under this régime, Sir George Yeardley, called an Assembly to meet at Jamestown in 1619 composed of two burgesses from each place and plantation. It exercised privileges much like the body in England that was causing James so much discomfort.

The Company was overthrown in 1624, owing to the King's dissatisfaction with the control of the Company by a group connected with the opposition party in Parliament, and on account of the "slow progress of the colony and its exclusive devotion to tobacco."¹ Charles I, who became King in 1625, was too busy at home to trouble about colonial matters, and the colony was about as free as before. In 1627, at the instance of Charles, a General Assembly was called to consider the tobacco trade with England. This is interesting, as showing a recognition by the King of representative institutions. During the Commonwealth period in England, Virginia was given even greater freedom, governing itself through an elected Assembly, which, in turn, selected the Governor and his Council. This large allowance of self-government served later as a dangerous precedent.

¹ Beer, *Origins of the British Colonial System*, p. 305.

NEW ENGLAND

The story of the early settlement of "Northern Virginia" — that part allotted to the Plymouth Company — is in great contrast to the record of the establishment of Jamestown. The Plymouth Company sent out a fleet under Raleigh Gilbert and George Popham to what is now called Maine. After a year, however, the unpromising settlement was abandoned. In 1620 a new charter was granted for the territory between forty and forty-eight degrees north latitude under the name of New England. The first settlement to take permanent hold there was the plantation at Plymouth in 1620. But it did not have a commercial aim. This group of men and women were impelled to cross the sea by the desire for freedom of worship.

The well-known story needs but a brief treatment. In the reign of Elizabeth radical Protestant sects had developed, which were unwilling to conform to the rules of the Established Church. The Puritans desired to stay within the Church and purify it; in consequence, there was constant opposition by them to alleged Roman Catholic tendencies. Some were so violently opposed to the "abuses" practiced by the Church that they left its communion. Various names were given them, e.g., Brownists, Independents, Separatists. One of these radical groups was located at Scrooby in Nottinghamshire, where they were ministered to by John Robinson of Norwich. Because of persecution they sought asylum first in Holland and later across the seas westward.

The *Mayflower* left Plymouth, England, in the autumn of 1620, bringing this body of devoted men and women to the coast of Massachusetts, where they established New Plymouth. They had made arrangements with the Virginia Company for the right to settle on their grant, but, as they landed outside the bounds of that territory, they had to make other provision for the government of their colony. This was done by the brief Mayflower Compact made on shipboard.¹ The Plymouth Pilgrims were subjected to much

¹ The Mayflower Compact was but a temporary agreement to be used until

hardship. Starvation stared them in the face much of the time, for they were a group unaccustomed to pioneer life. It was only later that they found their salvation in a developing fur trade.

Soon other colonies were established in New England. Charles I, as we have found, was having trouble with the Puritans from the time that he became King in 1625. By 1629, the conflict was serious, and eleven years followed in which Charles tried to rule England without a Parliament. This caused great dissatisfaction among the Puritans, to whom the New World seemed to furnish a refuge from tyranny. Some Nonconformists obtained from the New England Council, in 1628, a grant of land extending three miles north of the Merrimac to three miles south of the Charles and westward to the South Sea. In 1630, over one thousand people, including the Governor and officers of the Company, left for New England. It was the beginning of what is known as the "Great Emigration." Boston, Charlestown, Roxbury, Dorchester, Watertown, and Cambridge were established. As the High-Church party continued to control English affairs during the whole of the next decade, emigration went on apace. During the years preceding the meeting of the Long Parliament in 1640, twenty thousand colonists are said to have settled in New England. This was a remarkable movement. Hardly anything like this transplantation of people to a new home had ever occurred before. A veritable New England was being formed across the sea.

The temper and government of the new colonies was akin to that developing in England. Powers were given to freemen or stockholders of the corporation. Much emphasis,

the government at home had signified its wishes. When some of the hired laborers on the ship realized that the vessel was landing outside the territory of the Virginia Company, they threatened to break loose. The Compact, signed by forty-one persons of whom seven were hired workmen, has been lauded as an early example of a written constitution. The signers combined "into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation." They agreed "to enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws . . . as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience."

also, was put on religious conformity as a result of the prevailing interest in religious matters at the time. In 1631, the number of freemen was enlarged to one hundred and sixteen, but only Puritan church members had the franchise. Three years later, representative government was established, members being chosen by the various towns to act as a Committee of the General Court. In Plymouth a representative system similar to that in Massachusetts Bay was instituted in 1638. We must not infer that this was democracy. The freemen were few, probably numbering not more than one fifth of the number of grown men. Nor was freedom of worship permitted. Although the New England colonists had left England to exercise freedom in this regard, they were not inclined to grant it in their turn.

Internal trouble could not but come with such limitations on individual liberty. Roger Williams, minister of the church at Salem, was extreme in his Separatist views, and, in addition, aroused opposition by declaring that the colonists should have purchased their lands from the Indians. In consequence, he was compelled to leave; ultimately he made his home in Rhode Island. Anne Hutchinson, a woman of remarkable intellect, caused similar trouble to the leaders. It is not altogether clear what was the matter with her beliefs, as Winthrop at her trial refused to give the causes that satisfied the court she should be banished. The expulsion of Roger Williams and of Anne Hutchinson led to the founding of Rhode Island. There the land was "purchased" from the Indians and freedom of worship was granted to the inhabitants. Williams has won lasting fame by his pioneer advocacy and practice in the Providence Plantations of the separation of Church and State.

The latter half of the thirties saw the beginnings of Connecticut. The Massachusetts Bay colonies were the sources for these settlements as well as that of Rhode Island. It was of their own free will, however, that Massachusetts men went to the Connecticut valley. Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield were founded in 1635 and 1636. Saybrook, named from Lord Brook and Lord Say and Sele, who had obtained a

grant of this region, was placed at the mouth of the Connecticut River to safeguard the English in their new possessions. In 1638, New Haven was founded. Settlements took shape, also, during this time in the present states of New Hampshire and Maine to the north of Massachusetts Bay.

At last civil war between Charles and Parliament broke out in 1642, and the chaos in England led to a closer union of the New England colonies. Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven united in a confederation, which illustrated the virility and independence of the group. One of the causes for the organization was found in the "sad distractions" in England. Another cause for a combination of forces was the Indian menace, for the natives had committed "sundry insolencies and outrages upon severall Plantations of the English" and had "of late combined against us." A third cause for union lay in the dangerous proximity of the people of "severall Nations and strange languages, which hereafter may prove injurious to us." They referred to the French and the Dutch. There was to be a "perpetual league of friendship," all wars were to be borne by all parts of the confederation, and two commissioners were chosen from each of the four colonies "being all in Church-fellowship with us" to form a group to decide on common matters. The combination, although it did not include Rhode Island and Maine, served a good purpose.

New Netherland, as the territory between Virginia and New England was called, had been occupied by the Dutch under the energetic leadership of the Dutch West India Company. This settlement was a serious menace to English control of the coast and to colonial unity, as it separated Virginia from New England. Its loss by the Dutch will be recounted on a later page.¹

NEWFOUNDLAND AND HUDSON BAY

Newfoundland was not a very satisfactory field for colonization, although Gilbert, as early as 1583, had taken formal possession of it for England. In the next year, Hakluyt ad-

¹ See pp. 66 ff.

vised that it be held and that England levy taxes on foreign vessels fishing there. At this time fish was one of the principal elements of English diet, but the country had been dependent on foreigners, especially the Dutch, for a large part of the fish used. The English soon had a permanent hold of the island in spite of growing French competition, possibly because they were accustomed to remain there and cure their fish. The French, on the contrary, cured their fish at home. In 1610 a company was formed to colonize Newfoundland. But much trouble soon arose between the fishermen and the English colonists over fishing rights of various kinds. The fishing, however, continually grew in importance, for by 1640 over ten thousand mariners were employed in these fisheries, and men-of-war were sent to protect the fishing craft from pirates and foreigners. Much of this fish went to southern Europe in exchange for products desired by Englishmen. Thus Newfoundland early became a valued overseas dominion. The *Golden Fleece*, published by Vaughan in 1626, quaintly expressed the general opinion: "This is our *Colchos*, where the *Golden Fleece* flourisheth on the backes of *Neptunes sheepe*, continually to be shorne. This is *Great Britaines Indies*, never to be exhausted dry." ¹

To the north of the French acquisitions on the St. Lawrence the English continued their efforts at finding a waterway through the continent.² The account of this search does not include a record of colonization, but later, with the development of the fur trade, it led to important results. The voyages of the Elizabethans have already been mentioned. Gilbert wrote an elaborate *Discourse of a Discovery for a New Passage to Cataia* to encourage the hunt for the northwest route. John Davis made three voyages about the time of the defeat of the Spanish Armada in search of a passage to Cathay, and his name remains on our maps attached to

¹ Quoted in Beer, *Origins of the British Colonial System*, p. 294.

² These efforts, in which the East India Company took an interest, seem to have been the result of a feeling that by reaching northern climes a better market for "English clothes and kersies" would be found, and eastern products obtained without a large exportation of English bullion. See Cunningham, *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, II, 259.

the great strait between Greenland and Canada. Of even greater importance was the work of Henry Hudson. He made several voyages for English companies before he was employed by the Dutch East India Company in 1609; it was for them that this Englishman discovered the Hudson River and sailed as far as Albany in the hope of finding an outlet to the South Sea. In 1610, Hudson, who was again working for the English, sailed in search of a northwest passage. He discovered Hudson Strait and passed into the great bay beyond, which bears his name. His vessel was frozen in, and the winter was spent under severe conditions. In June, 1611, a part of the crew mutinied and Hudson, his son, and several others were set adrift in a small boat; they were never again heard from.

Two years later, Sir Thomas Button entered Hudson Bay. He thoroughly explored it, and named the western side of the bay (where he vainly sought an outlet) "Hope's Check." He also discovered the Nelson River. In 1615-16, William Baffin made two important voyages. The great bay known under Baffin's name was discovered beyond Davis Strait, and the two sounds leading from it westward were found and named. Fox Channel extending north from Hudson Bay received its name from "Northwest" Fox, who located it in 1631.

The first stage in Arctic discovery ended in the early part of the seventeenth century. These daring explorers added materially to geographical knowledge, although they failed to find a way around the continent. Nowhere in all the new fields of English interest was the intrepidity of English seamanship better revealed. Compensation, as elsewhere, was found in trade. Indeed, in 1612, the "Company of the Merchants of London Discoverers of the Northwest Passage" was incorporated; two years later the East India Company helped in the search. It was not until 1670 that the famous Hudson's Bay Company was incorporated. It had the sole right to trade with the natives on the shores of Hudson Bay. The growth of the Company was slow, as there was difficulty with the French in the St. Lawrence basin. When New

France was added to England's Empire in 1763, this great Company became very powerful. Its later progress is a part of the history of Canada.¹

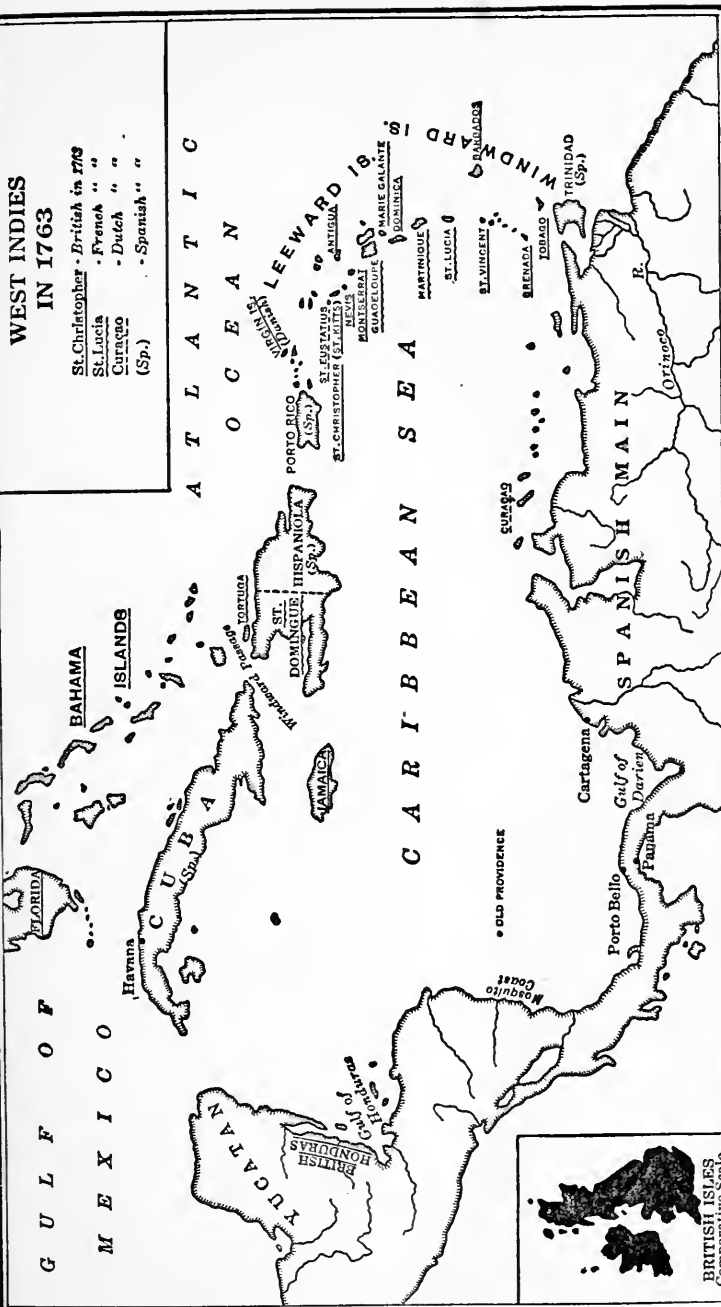
THE WEST INDIES

During this century, also, much work of great importance was done for the British Empire in the islands to the south. The old colonial Empire had few more important parts than the British West Indian possessions. With the addition of other and vaster territories serving England in a similar way, the West Indies have not retained their former position.

In the seventeenth century the location of the West Indies served to make them bases for encroaching on Spanish trade. The larger islands, Cuba, Santo Domingo, Porto Rico, and Jamaica, had been occupied by the Spanish. The mainland, however, was so much more valuable as a field to be exploited that the Spanish paid little attention to most of the smaller islands. A glance at the map makes it clear that the Lesser Antilles form a sort of half-moon extending southward from Porto Rico to the South American mainland. Of these Lesser Antilles the northern are called the Leeward Islands and the southern the Windwards. At the extreme upper corner of the half-moon are the Virgin Islands, owned since 1917 by the United States. North of Cuba and Santo Domingo lie the Bahamas, and on the route from Europe to the West Indies are the Bermuda Islands, some five hundred miles off the coast of the Carolinas.

Sir George Somers, by whose name the Bermudas are sometimes known, was on board the *Sea Adventure* in 1609, when it formed one of a fleet of nine vessels bound for the Virginia colony. A hurricane sent one ship to the bottom and cast the *Sea Adventure* on the Bermudas. In May of the next year the survivors of this vessel reached Virginia. In 1610 an account of the shipwreck was published, entitled *A Discovery of the Bermudas, otherwise called the Ile of Devils*. The reference by Shakespeare in the *Tempest*, written in 1610 or 1611, to the "still vexed Bermoothes" proba-

¹ See pp. 405 ff.



WEST INDIES IN 1763

- St. Christopher - British in 1763
- St. Lucia - French "
- Curacao - Dutch "
- (Sp.) - Spanish "



BRITISH ISLES
Comparative Scale

bly refers to this famous shipwreck. In 1612 the islands were settled for the first time, and three years later a company was formed for the plantation of the "Somer Islands."¹ Early in their history, tobacco became the staple crop. The colonizing company opposed this exclusive interest, as the tobacco was of low grade; on the contrary, they wished wines, figs, sugar, and olives produced there. But efforts to establish these products proved unsuccessful. Curiously enough, the Bermudas served for some time as a source of provisions for other colonies. Virginia and New England sent there for foodstuffs. But as the large colonies became self-supporting, the Bermudas declined in importance. Their strategic value, however, has been recognized from the very first.

The Bahamas were not of great value to England in these early years, though settlers went to them in the first half of the seventeenth century. Their chief use during this period was as a safe retreat for pirates. In the Lesser Antilles, however, the English took a great interest. Thomas Warner began the colonization of St. Christopher (commonly known as St. Kitts) in 1623, and Barbados was settled about the same time. Within a few years Nevis (the birthplace of Alexander Hamilton), Antigua, and Montserrat were settled by Englishmen. In 1627 the Earl of Carlisle was granted these and the other principal islands of the Lesser Antilles, and from this time on their occupation proceeded rapidly. They were found to be valuable sources for tropical products. At first tobacco was the staple, but by the middle of the century sugar-cane had been successfully introduced. Indigo and cotton, fustic and ginger, were valued exports as well. Population in the group increased at a rapid rate, for in 1639 there were twenty thousand planters on the Earl of Carlisle's islands.

Of the group, Barbados occupied the most conspicuous place. In 1636 there were six thousand settlers there, and in the latter part of the same century, the population was as

¹ The charter called the islands after Sir George Somers, but the name of their Spanish discoverer, Juan Bermudez, has persisted. Sir George Somers returned to the islands from Virginia in 1610 and died there shortly afterward. His body was taken to England but his heart was buried in the islands at a spot near the scene of the memorable shipwreck of 1609.

high as one hundred and twenty to the square mile, or about thirty thousand. This rapid increase was owing partly to the unsettled conditions in England, but in greater measure to the development of the sugar industry. It is interesting to find that the inhabitants of the Barbados were as keenly concerned in self-government as were the English colonies of Virginia and New England. In the reign of Charles I and later under the Commonwealth the independent spirit of the colonists was the cause of considerable friction.

The island of Jamaica is England's largest insular possession in the Caribbean. It was captured from Spain in 1655 during Cromwell's rule. The English had come into inevitable conflict with Spain when they had occupied the West Indian islands. Massacres, reprisals, and counter-attacks had occurred. The Protector determined finally to make a really vital attack on the Spanish power in the West Indies. Admiral Penn, father of the founder of Pennsylvania, and General Venables were sent against Santo Domingo, but the attack on that Spanish possession miserably failed. They then turned for revenge to an attack on Jamaica and captured it in 1655.¹ A garrison was left and Cromwell set about peopling the island. He endeavored to induce settlers to go from New England and the Windward Islands, and in addition men and women from Great Britain were sought for transportation. The population of Jamaica was nondescript, the planters and merchants uniting piracy and privateering with more legitimate pursuits. During much of the century it was a chief resort for the buccaneers and served in very truth as a "sharp thorn in the side of the Spaniard."

¹ For an interesting account of the expedition see Clarendon's well-known and contemporary *History of the Rebellion and Civil War in England*. He began to write it about the middle of the seventeenth century and it was first published in 1702. He wrote of Jamaica: "The English revenged themselves upon a neighbor island, called Jamaica." Of the purpose of the occupation, he declares that a garrison was left "to fortify and plant in this island, a place fruitful in itself, and abounding in many good provisions, and a perpetual sharp thorn in the side of the Spaniard." (Oxford, 1839, VII, 233-34.)

THE BUCCANEERS

The buccaneers of the seventeenth century were the successors of the Elizabethan sea-dogs, who so relentlessly "singed the king of Spain's beard." Unregulated naval operations had continued against Spain from the days of Drake. In fact it was not until the close of the century that piracy was to any degree suppressed. Both the English and the French were only too glad to harry Spanish shipping and seaports by giving tacit encouragement to these "brethren of the coast." This was especially true of England after Charles I's breach with Spain in 1623. Not only was semi-legal piracy encouraged, but there was also considerable colonial activity in a part of the world that had hitherto been largely a Spanish monopoly. This double interest serves as the connecting link between the exploits of the Elizabethan seamen and the solid establishment of British power in the West Indies with the capture of Jamaica in 1655.

There was an English settlement on the island of St. Christopher as early as 1623. French colonists soon joined the English on this island, which for a time was jointly occupied. Nevis was colonized by Englishmen in 1628, but in the next year the two islands suffered from Spanish attacks. In consequence, a more convenient center for buccaneering was found off the northwest coast of Santo Domingo in the main course of the Caribbean trade. There the island of Tortuga, or Association, as it was renamed, was seized in 1630. It was already the resort of rovers of all nationalities, for it had many attractions. Tortuga was near the Windward Passage, its mountainous interior abounded in wild hogs, and herds of cattle were on the neighboring island of Santo Domingo. It was settled by the Providence Island Company, which had already begun to colonize Old Providence Island off Nicaragua. Tortuga became the center of a thriving trade, not because of the natural wealth of the island — it is now uninhabited — but on account of its convenience as a refitment and victualing-station for merchants and freebooters on one of the main routes of trade. In 1635,

Tortuga was captured by the Spanish and finally in 1640 by the French.¹ Fortunately for the West Indian pirates Jamaica was obtained from Spain in 1655 with the assistance of the buccaneers, who by this time had a formidable mercenary fleet at the command of any enemy of Spain, provided they were allowed to share in the plunder.

The most prominent leader of the buccaneers during this time was Henry Morgan. Born in Wales, he was sold as a servant to Barbados, whence he escaped to Jamaica. He rapidly rose to prominence among the buccaneers, becoming admiral of their fleet in 1667. With Jamaica as a center, he carried out many successful expeditions. In 1668, he was sent by Modyford, Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica, to attack Cuba. After a successful expedition to Cuba, he made a daring attack on Porto Bello on the Isthmus. In the next year he led a strong expedition against Maracaibo, which was successfully sacked and barbarously treated. In 1671 Morgan even went across the Isthmus and captured the city of Panama, to the almost utter paralysis of Spanish commerce. For this exploit of buccaneering warfare he was taken to England for trial in 1672. Nothing better illustrates the English attitude at this time toward buccaneering when Spain's colonies were the victims than the treatment accorded Morgan. Instead of being hanged, he was knighted, and two years later returned to Jamaica as Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's forces in the colony. The remainder of his life was spent in quiet on this island home, where he was occasionally Acting-Governor.

The buccaneers by their operations revealed once again Spanish weakness, and contributed by their exploits to the establishment of French, Dutch, and English colonies in the West Indies. These "devils of the sea" disappeared with the close of the century, when France and Spain were once again friends, and French and English were enemies. Growing national navies also helped to bring about the decline of

¹ For these activities see in particular A. P. Newton's *The Colonizing Activities of the English Puritans — The Last Phase of the Elizabethan Struggle with Spain*.

buccaneering. The famous Captain Kidd, who carried on the buccaneering tradition, was a generation too late. He was brought to England in 1700 to be tried — as Morgan had been twenty-five years before — but instead of being knighted, he was hanged.

In treating the West Indies we must consider another part of the empire-building business in the seventeenth century. The settlement of white men in tropical countries and the introduction of crops requiring a large amount of hand-labor resulted in the introduction of slavery. One method of procuring labor was by transportation — the shipment of England's outcast population to the colonies. The abolition of guilds in England, along with the rapid change in the conditions of the working classes, had led to much unemployment. The famous Elizabethan Poor Law was inadequate and a solution of domestic difficulties was found in transportation. Many went out as indentured servants. In addition, the doors of English prisons were opened. Waifs and strays of the larger cities were gathered in or kidnaped and used as laborers. For example, the London authorities turned over hundreds to the Virginia Company. Jamaica received large additions to its population by transportation at the order of Cromwell, by whom a "thousand Irish girls" and "male and female" vagabonds were sent out. The settlement of Georgia from debtors' prisons is well known. This lamentable phase of colonization did not cease with the seventeenth century; we shall meet it again when considering the settlement of Australia.

A more satisfactory way of obtaining laborers was to kidnap or purchase negroes in Africa. Hawkins' voyages for this purpose have already been described.¹ It was natural that negroes should be used in English as well as in Spanish colonies where they had proved a profitable form of labor. There was an almost complete lack of sensitiveness to this nefarious commerce. New England, where the slaves were not profitable chattels, was as callous as Virginia or the West Indies, and carried on an unscrupulous trade. In 1619 the

¹ See pp. 29 ff.

negro was introduced into Virginia. Yet by the end of the century there were only six thousand negroes in that colony. It was in the West Indies that the African was most valued. Probably it is no exaggeration of the extent of the slave-trade to state that there was an annual average shipment of twenty thousand negroes to the West Indies from Africa during the closing years of the seventeenth century. In the early part of the century, the carriers were largely Dutch vessels, but by the close of the century this trade had become a British monopoly. Indeed, the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 gave the English the contract for supplying the Spanish colonies as well. Englishmen became, to their discredit, the chief slave-traders until public sentiment brought the traffic to an end early in the nineteenth century.

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CHAPTER V

THE COMMERCIAL RIVALRY OF ENGLAND AND HOLLAND

WE have found that the English were able to colonize in America along a coast of considerable extent with practically no interference. But when they entered upon the waters of the Far East, the penetration could not be peaceful, for other nations had preceded England to that part of the world. The courageous Portuguese had found the sea-route around Africa and thereby had captured the trade of Asia. Early in the sixteenth century, they had founded factories on the Malabar coast of India. In order to hamper Arabian trade, Sokotra and Aden on the Red Sea route had been taken, and Ormuz on the Persian Gulf was captured to prevent goods going to Europe by way of Bagdad. Very early this enterprising nation secured Malacca and the control of the Spice Islands, and by the middle of the sixteenth century they had developed commercial relations with China and Japan. The upshot of their work amounted to this, that for the whole of the sixteenth century the eastern trade was a Portuguese monopoly. This position, altogether out of proportion to the resources and importance of Portugal, was destined soon to be challenged.

In 1580 Portugal was united with Spain under one ruler and the two countries remained as one until 1640. This union, by which Spain became mistress of the East as well as the West, came at a crucial point in colonial development, as it was effected at a time when Spain was suffering from the severe attacks of its European enemies. Drake had just completed his voyage around the world when the two colonial empires were combined, and eight years later England was to win the freedom of the sea by the defeat of the Spanish Armada.

THE DUTCH AND THE FAR EAST

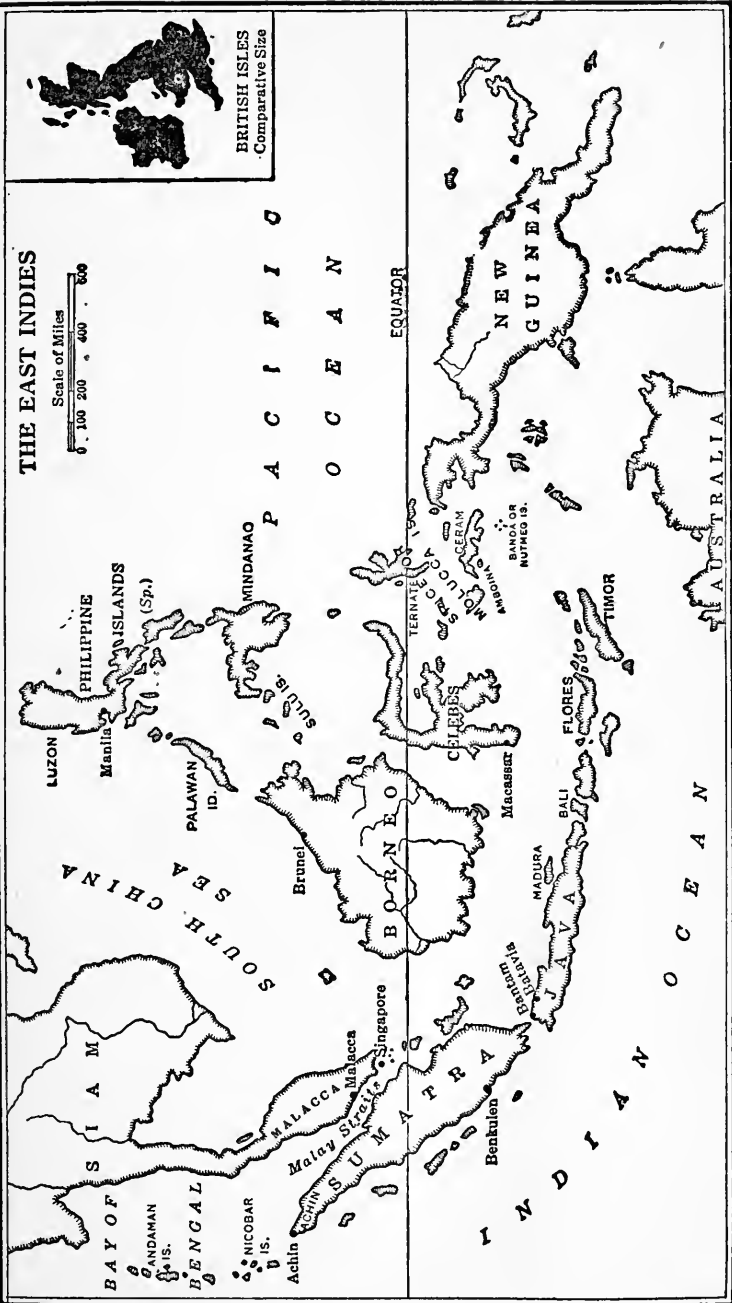
An even more serious danger was Holland. The Low Countries, as Belgium and Holland were then commonly

THE EAST INDIES

Scale of Miles
0 100 200 400 600



BRITISH ISLES
Comparative Size



known, had become a part of the great Empire of Charles V, the father of Philip II, and they had remained in the hands of Philip and of Spain after his father's death. No two peoples could have been more unlike than the Spanish and the Dutch. The Dutch were strongly Protestant, while Spain was the most Catholic country of Europe. Besides, the Netherlands were an industrious and prosperous business population, and their great cities were the distributing centers for the goods of all the nations. The Dutch were also a natural maritime people, who by the end of the sixteenth century had already developed an important merchant marine. Even the carrying of the spices of the East had come into their hands before the union of Spain and Portugal in 1580. Portugal, who had control of the Spice Islands, did not attempt to distribute the spices to Europe; the Portuguese brought them to Lisbon only, whence they were transshipped by the merchants of the Netherlands to the various ports of the Continent, especially to Antwerp, at this time the great maritime emporium for the goods of the East.

Philip II made every effort to reap a rich financial profit from the commercial activity of the Low Countries, an attitude that quite naturally was resented by the Netherlands. The addition of a bigoted religious policy for the Low Countries led to a revolt which was destined to continue for many years. It is not necessary to recount the progress of the conflict, in which the Dutch were usually the victors at sea and the conquered on land. They suffered terribly under the oppressive rule of the Duke of Alva, but were united for a determined resistance by William the Silent. Gradually the resistance of the Netherlands, which was later strengthened by the aid of England, grew stronger and stronger. It was not until 1609 that an end came to the hostilities. In 1648, the independence of the Netherlands was acknowledged by the Peace of Westphalia.

The union of Spain and Portugal in 1580 came at a vital point in this conflict, for it put into Spanish hands the control of the eastern spice trade. Naturally this was a serious blow to the Dutch, who were accustomed to transship the goods

of the East from Lisbon. In consequence, the Dutch determined to go to the East themselves in order to bring the goods to Europe. They felt also that, by harassing the Spanish on the sea and especially by tapping their sources of wealth, they might bring a more favorable decision to the struggle in the Low Countries. It was out of these conditions that the Dutch began with great vigor the building of a colonial empire. Englishmen entered the East about the same time, but, as England was not an open enemy of Spain, their work in the Far East was by no means so aggressive as that of the Dutch. Therefore, before we proceed to consider English interests in the Indies, it will be necessary to sketch briefly the rise of the Dutch Empire, England's chief rival during the seventeenth century.

In 1597, three Dutch ships returned from the East with valuable cargoes. It is not strange that a few years later, in 1602, the Dutch East India Company was founded with the enormous capital of over two hundred and fifty millions of dollars. It was a private company, but semi-national in character. Sixty ships were sent out by the Dutch in the eight years following the founding of the Company. In 1609 the important island of Amboina, in the southern part of the Spice Islands, was taken by the Dutch. The next year, the Portuguese fleet was burned in front of Malacca in the Malay Peninsula. In 1615 the defeat of a Spanish-Portuguese fleet, commanded by the Spanish Governor of the Philippines, secured to the Dutch a firm hold of the Spice Islands. Their method of occupation was to make treaties with the native chiefs in the Moluccas, by which the natives were guaranteed from attack by the Portuguese, and in turn the Dutch obtained the right to erect factories and to monopolize the trade.

By 1619 the Dutch were so strongly established in the East that a capital was created for the Dutch East Indies in the island of Java, and named Batavia. A governor-general of the Indies was appointed, and there were subordinate governors and a strong naval force. A series of able governors, culminating in Van Diemen (1636-45), gave the Dutch a firm

hold. In the early years of his governorship Van Diemen began to wrest the island of Ceylon from the Portuguese, and he gradually brought Sumatra and Borneo under Dutch control. A footing was also gained on the coasts. The climax came in 1640 with the capture of the Portuguese stronghold of Malacca. This strategic point, which commanded the strait separating Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula, gave the Dutch a control not only of the trade with the Spice Islands, but also of that with China and Japan. They developed a large commerce in Chino-Japanese waters. Formosa became important for its tea, which the Dutch introduced to Europe, and for over a century no other nation had intercourse with Japan.

In western Asia they were as successful as in the East Indies. A regular trade was carried on with Mocha, from which coffee was first brought in 1616. In order to have a halfway house to this extended field of the Far East, Cape Colony was founded in 1651. Not only in South Africa, but in many other places no longer in their possession have Dutch names adhered as witnesses to the wide range of Dutch activity. Cape Horn, New Zealand, the Gulfs of Van Diemen and Carpentaria, Tasmania, are suggestive of the work of the Dutch during the seventeenth century. When the Peace of Westphalia was signed in 1648, the United Provinces were recognized as free from Spain, and they were confirmed in the possession of the territories taken from Portugal. Moreover, the trade of the East and West Indies was declared to be free.

Thus on the weakness of Portugal and the mistakes of Philip II was founded a new colonial empire. Most of the East Indies continue to-day in the possession of the Dutch — all, excepting the Philippines, which belong to the United States, parts of Borneo and New Guinea in British hands, and half of the small island of Timor, which is all that is left to Portugal in that part of the East where the Portuguese pioneered so successfully.

THE ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY

As we turn to the work of the English, we have no such rapid and powerful movement to record. The English were not so ready to go ahead as the Dutch, but, if they began more modestly, they were distancing their Dutch rivals by the end of the century. As early as 1579, the English became interested in India from the letters of Thomas Stevens, who had gone to Goa. Four years later, three Englishmen started overland for India and sent home interesting accounts of their travels. We have already noted the embassy of William Harburn to Turkey in 1579 for the purpose of obtaining trading rights in the Levant. In 1591 the first venture was made by three ships under Captains Raymond and Lancaster, but only one of the vessels accomplished the voyage. A second attempt under Captain Benjamin Wood, who bore a letter from Queen Elizabeth to the Emperor of China, resulted in the total disappearance of the expedition. Finally, on the last day of the sixteenth century the famous English East India Company was formed. This organization, which began as a commercial concern, gradually became a powerful medium for imperial growth, in much the same way as its Dutch rival. To it is due the acquisition of British India.

In 1599 the price of pepper on the English market was more than doubled by the Dutch monopoly. Various merchants, in consequence, petitioned for and received a charter from Elizabeth for trading in the East. This coöperative group of London merchants was a private organization sanctioned by the state and no such semi-national company as the Dutch East India Company founded two years later. The charter was granted to over two hundred persons under the name of the "Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies." The Company had a right to trade anywhere between the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan for a period of fifteen years without competition on the part of other English merchants. The Company also had a monopoly on the sale of its goods as well as various concessions regarding customs duties and the export of bullion.

The privileges of the trading organization were made more liberal about the end of the first decade by the indefinite extension of its rights with the provision that if the trade of the Company were not advantageous to the kingdom, its privileges were to be withdrawn on three years' notice. Each voyage until 1612 was undertaken as a joint-stock venture by members of the Company, no single merchant entering on private trading. Under this plan subscriptions were obtained for a voyage to the Indies; the money was used to purchase merchandise, fit out the vessels, and serve as cash for buying goods in the East. On the return a division was made to the investors. In 1612, instead of having separate funds for each voyage, a joint-stock for all purposes for a limited period was made the rule. The chief officers of the Company were a governor, deputy-governor, and a board of twenty-four members, all elected annually.

The East India Company's beginnings illustrate what has already become evident, as the first steps in English colonization were considered in America, that it was largely the private initiative of men interested in commercial expansion that led to the beginnings of empire. The first Governor of the East India Company, Sir Thomas Smythe, is a typical illustration; he is more than that, for, if any one is entitled to the name of Founder of the British Empire, it would be this English haberdasher. In 1580, he had become a member of the Haberdashers' Company and also of the Skinners' Company. His grandfather, Sir Andrew Judd, was one of the founders of the Muscovy Company. Smythe himself was interested in this field of trade, and in 1604 was a special ambassador to the Czar of Russia from whom he obtained extensive privileges for the English. As a member of the East India Company he was interested in the northwest passage as well; his name was given to Smith's Sound by Baffin. In 1609 he was largely influential in obtaining the charter of the Virginia Company, of which organization he was treasurer until 1619. For several years Smythe was one of the chief commissioners of the navy and a governor of the Somers Islands (Bermuda) Company. In addition to all these varied interests, he was

the Governor of the East India Company from its origin until 1621, excepting for the years 1606 and 1607.

The first voyage for the Company was made by four vessels and a supply-ship, with James Lancaster as "General" of the fleet. The vessels were loaded with iron, tin, lead, and cloth as well as with presents for native princes. Merchants were appointed to each of the vessels. In 1602 Sumatra was reached, where the King of Achin, living on the northern part of the island, was presented with gifts and with a letter from Queen Elizabeth, expatiating on the advantages of mutual trade. Lancaster, after capturing a richly laden Portuguese vessel off Malacca, proceeded to Bantam, the most important town on the island of Java before the foundation of Batavia by the Dutch. Here a factory was established and pepper was obtained. This first venture of the Company proved a financial success; the fleet brought back over a million pounds of pepper. The "General" of so successful an expedition became Sir James Lancaster. Soon a second fleet was sent to the Spice Islands, and a third proceeded to India. By 1610 seventeen vessels had been sent to the East. For the voyage of 1610 the East India Company built two new ships, a pinnace and a large vessel of eleven hundred tons burden, the largest English merchant vessel of the time. Such significance was attached to the launching of these vessels that the King attended the ceremony and named the two ships; the smaller he called the *Peppercorn* and the larger the *Trades Increase*. Although the first decade of British activity was comparatively modest when placed beside the work of the Dutch, it marks the beginning of a commercial activity that was to reach amazing proportions.

As the Portuguese and the Dutch were fiercely contesting for the East Indies, the English turned to India. The East India Company had no intention at this time of mixing in their struggle for territory, but desired to confine its activities to "quiet trade." Early in the century, Surat, on the west coast of India north of Bombay and at the mouth of the Taptee River, was chosen as a site for an English factory. In

1607 Captain William Hawkins commanded an East India Company's ship bound for Surat with orders to find a suitable harbor for an English depot. From there he went inland to Agra where the Mogul had his court, and remained there for three years combating Dutch intrigues. He was successful in obtaining formal permission for an English factory at Surat. Hawkins' work was continued by Sir Thomas Roe, who was sent to the court of the Mogul at the expense of the Company in 1614. He was a man of marked diplomatic ability, who by his skill laid the foundations for British power in India. The Portuguese, however, were not in the mood to allow English infringements on their rights, and while Roe was at the court of the Mogul, they made a determined effort to drive the English away from Surat. A large fleet attacked five British ships off Swally in 1615, but were disastrously defeated. In the same year the Dutch were victors in a naval combat with the Portuguese. In consequence, from this time forward the Portuguese caused the English little trouble.

The issue with the Dutch was not so easily settled. Trouble occurred because of English efforts to trade in the Spice Islands; the Dutch felt that the English had no business in a field which had been won by the loss of their own blood and treasure. The Banda Islands, south of the Spice Islands, where the Dutch had established a fort to prevent English encroachments, became the scene of the conflict. The Bandanese found the Hollanders as hard to deal with as the Portuguese, and welcomed the English. The latter in 1615 made an unsuccessful attempt to place a factory on Great Banda Island, and in the next year the English were kept out by a superior Dutch fleet. In 1619 the English aided the natives of Java in fighting the Dutch, and out of this conflict came an agreement by which the English were to have one third of the trade of the Spice Islands and the Banda group.

But such an arrangement could only be temporary. The smothered Dutch discontent came to a head in 1623 with the "massacre" of Amboina. They professed to believe that the English on Amboina, eighteen in number, were conspiring

to capture the fort on that island garrisoned by two hundred men. Torture was applied until a confession of guilt was won from the unfortunate Englishmen, twelve of whom were executed. This barbarous proceeding did much to arouse popular English feeling against the Dutch, a feeling which the East India Company fostered by widely distributing a picture depicting the scene of torture. Later, the Dutch had to make amends for this act, but at the time James I was in no position to enter on a war with Holland. The outcome of the incident was the expulsion of the English from the East Indies.

More interest attaches to the commencement of English activity in India. The establishment of a factory at Surat has already been noted. This remained long the headquarters of the English on the west coast, although subordinate factories were located elsewhere in the Mogul's dominions. An important step was taken in 1661, when the island of Bombay was ceded by Portugal to England as part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza, Charles' queen. In 1668 it was turned over to the East India Company for an annual payment of £10. Although but a miserable fishing village, it was so free from the attacks of warlike tribes, that finally in 1687 the presidency of the west coast was transferred from Surat to Bombay. From this time on it was England's chief port in western India. On the Coromandel coast, Masulipatam had been the seat of an agency as early as 1611. In 1640 the English bought from a native ruler a favorable site farther south called Madraspatam where Fort St. George was erected. It was the beginning of the great city of Madras, and was the first acquisition of territory on the mainland of India by the British. Thus before the middle of the seventeenth century the foundations of British India had been laid.

Farther north in Bengal the English were slower in establishing themselves. In 1634 the Mogul gave the English the privilege of trading in that region, and in 1640 a factory was placed at Hugli, just above the site of the modern Calcutta. Two years later another factory was located at Balasor, some hundred miles down the coast in Orissa. The possession of

territory in Bengal came much later than elsewhere in India. It was not until about the end of the century that Fort William was built by the East India Company on the site of Calcutta, where the purchase of three villages at this point on the river marked the beginning of territorial expansion in this part of India. Before this happened, the factories in Bengal had been separated from the Madras Presidency in order to form a separate unit.

It is evident that the English were to have a permanent interest in India. But it is an interest altogether different from that in the mainland of North America. There was no influx of colonists; the interest was wholly commercial, and, in consequence, territorial control came very slowly. The political situation in India, in addition, was complex; strong warlike peoples were more of an obstacle than the helpless Indians of the Caribbean or the comparatively few aborigines of the American coast. We shall leave a study of the Indian situation until we come to describe the struggle of England and France for India in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹

ANGLO-DUTCH RIVALRY IN THE WEST

The Dutch, as well as their British rivals, found the new world of the West a fruitful field for commercial expansion. In the carrying of slaves from the western coast of Africa to the Caribbean, the Dutch had taken an active part, a trade in which they were outranked by the English only toward the close of the century. The Dutch were also keenly interested in the Portuguese colony of Brazil, where they captured but later restored Bahia and Pernambuco. The attacks on the Portuguese dominions in South America were prosecuted by the Dutch West India Company, which had interests also in the Caribbean. Guiana and the Orinoco were seats of Dutch factories; the island of Curaçao and its neighbors still remain in the possession of the Netherlands. In the West Indies the outcome was the reverse of that in the East Indies, for English efforts were more successful than Dutch.

¹ See pp. 92 ff.

On the mainland of North America, the Dutch took possession of the valley of the Hudson River. In 1614, at the mouth of the Hudson they built Fort Manhattan on Manhattan Island, and around it grew the city of New Amsterdam. The shores of the Hudson River were settled and Fort Orange (later Albany) was founded in 1622. As this Dutch colony lay between the English settlements of Virginia and New England, it was in a position to cause much difficulty to its English neighbors, especially under the energetic leadership of such a Governor as Peter Stuyvesant. The Dutch wanted to expand north along the coast toward the Connecticut River, a tendency that the English attempted to anticipate by the Confederation of the New England colonies.¹

At last a war grew out of the various rivalries of these two great commercial powers. There were various causes. For one thing, the English had not forgotten the massacre at Amboina. The Commonwealth was opposed to the thriving trade that the Dutch carried on with the Royalist colonies in the West Indies. Royalists had also gone to the Netherlands for refuge. In 1651 the English passed a Navigation Act which forbade foreign ships to carry colonial products from Asia, Africa, or America or goods of other countries to England save from the countries to which the ships belonged. As the Dutch were the great carriers, it was obviously aimed at them. Although the Act was not rigidly enforced, the English exercised the right of search to the great inconvenience of their maritime competitors.

War began in 1652. Blake and Tromp, who were the opposing admirals, alternately held command of the Channel. Blake was defeated in the first year off Dungeness by Tromp in spite of the fact that the Dutch commander was inconvenienced by the large number of merchant vessels he had to convoy to port. In 1653 Blake, with one hundred ships, won an indecisive victory off Portland while the Dutch admiral was convoying a fleet of two hundred merchantmen. Tromp was again defeated off Harwich and the merchant shipping of the Dutch tied up in port. As the Portuguese had retaken

¹ See p. 45.

Brazil in the meantime and as there was dissension at home, the Netherlanders made peace in 1654. They agreed to pay an indemnity for the Amboina massacre and granted Pularoon in the Spice Islands to the English.

The rivalry continued, however. When Charles II became King in 1660, the reëstablished monarchy was not particularly friendly to the Dutch Republic. In 1661 Louis XIV, who was very much opposed to republics, assumed the government of France and began his long conflict with Holland. Charles II, moreover, made an alliance with Portugal, the enemy of Holland. He also endeavored to foster English commerce. Pularoon had not been relinquished as agreed, and the Dutch seemed to be gaining on the English in the carrying trade.

Renewed warlike measures began in a manner not at all creditable to the English; they made irregular attacks on Dutch commerce. In 1664 a piratical fleet was sent, with the knowledge of the English Government, to the Guinea coast, where it caused havoc to Dutch trade. New Amsterdam, at the mouth of the Hudson, was taken before a formal declaration of war. It had been granted by Charles to his brother, the Duke of York, more than a year before it was captured, during a supposed time of peace between the two countries. This was too much for the Dutch to bear, and open war was waged during the years 1665-67. In the first year the Duke of York gained a decisive naval victory. Both fleets suffered defeat in 1666, though De Ruyter, the Dutch commander, brought the Dutch East India Company's fleet safely into port. In 1667 De Ruyter sailed up the Thames and inflicted serious loss to English shipping. In that year peace came at the wish of both combatants, as Holland feared Louis XIV, and as England was exhausted not only by the war, but also by the ravages of the plague in 1665 and the Great Fire that destroyed two thirds of London in September, 1666. The Treaty of Breda left Pularoon with the Dutch, the Navigation Act was relaxed, and the English retained New Amsterdam, which was renamed New York in honor of the King's brother.

ENGLISH NORTH AMERICA

In the meantime the English were filling in the unoccupied territory along the North American coast. By the end of the century, there was an almost continuous fringe of English colonies occupying the shore of the Atlantic and the important rivers. Maryland had been granted to George Calvert, Baron Baltimore. He had made an unsuccessful attempt at establishing a settlement in Newfoundland. George Calvert died before he could carry out his new plan of colonizing the more attractive Maryland. His purpose was accomplished, nevertheless, by his able son, Cecilius Calvert. This territory, known as Maryland, was colonized for the first time in 1634. As the Calverts were Roman Catholics, no mention was made of a religious establishment. In 1649 the Maryland Assembly passed a Toleration Act, placing Maryland beside Rhode Island in allowing freedom of worship. The region between the Hudson and the Delaware was granted Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret in 1664. It was soon settled, but there was considerable trouble in the colony in spite of the fact that religious freedom and a liberal government were given to it by the proprietors. The Quakers became interested in this colony of Jersey, and Berkeley sold his rights to a board of trustees of whom the most prominent was the Quaker, William Penn. A little later, Penn founded the colony of Pennsylvania with the Quakers especially in mind. Religious toleration and large privileges of self-government were given Penn's colony.

The Carolinas, south of Virginia, were settled shortly after Charles II became King in 1660. This plantation also allowed freedom of conscience to those coming to the colony. In 1680 Charleston was founded, a city destined to be the commercial center for the country south of the Chesapeake during the colonial period. Early in the next century, the colony was divided into its two natural divisions of North and South Carolina. Georgia, still farther south, was not established until 1732. With the single exception of Georgia, however, a beginning had been made before the close of the

century in all the English colonies of North America which were later to form the original thirteen revolting states.

If we take the Revolution of 1688 as a point from which to survey the work done by the English beyond the seas, we shall find that much had been accomplished in the eight decades following the founding of Jamestown. Trading posts had been set up in India, and English ships were active throughout the East. In West Africa — at Gambia, and on the Gold Coast — stations had been established in connection with the slave-trade. As a stopping-place for the ships of the East India Company, the island of St. Helena in the South Atlantic had been taken from the Dutch. Although this little island changed hands several times, it eventually remained with the English, who found it important as a supply-station and halfway point. In the West Indies large acquisitions had been made and prosperous colonies were enriching the mother country by the end of the century.

The most important of English oversea possessions were the continental and island colonies of North America. The Hudson's Bay Company was already at work, and Newfoundland was an important center for fishing. The colonies to the south already contained a respectable population. By the end of the century, New York City had five thousand people, while Boston claimed seven thousand inhabitants and Philadelphia twelve thousand. The total population of the colonies that later formed the nucleus of the United States was probably not far from two hundred thousand in 1700. Three fourths of this number were about equally distributed between New England and the colonies along the Chesapeake.

Why this remarkable expansion? Hints have been received that help to an understanding of the reasons for colonization. 1. Political motives undoubtedly had a large place in English minds in the work of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The West Indies were convenient for attacking Spain and were so used. The antagonism was partly religious, 2. growing out of Elizabeth's struggle with Philip II and the intense hatred of "Romish" practices held by the English Pu-

ritans. Care must be taken, however, not to overemphasize the religious motive. There was not during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries nearly so much continuity in England's opposition to Spain as some writers would have us believe.

The religious motive, irrespective of hatred to Catholic Spain, played a large part in the inception of many of the colonies. Plymouth was founded in order to have freedom of worship, the Puritan settlements in New England were strongly theocratic, and Roger Williams founded Rhode Island as an asylum against their narrowness. Maryland was a home for Roman Catholics, and Carolina was careful to give a large measure of toleration. Pennsylvania became the chief asylum of the persecuted Quakers.

The new settlements were also valuable as places to which "undesirables" could be banished. English criminals and prisoners of war, waifs and strays from city streets, Irish recalcitrants and Scotch vagabonds, served to furnish laborers who were often no better than slaves. By no means was emigration always voluntary, and yet it must not be inferred that substantial and respectable men and women did not go overseas in large numbers attracted by religious freedom or economic opportunity.

A very important reason for English oversea interest was the economic value of lands and products beyond the seas. There was no colonizing purpose in the English interest in the East; trade was the motive and territorial possession was incidental to business. On the West African coast the slave-trade served as the chief reason for attracting English ships. The fish of Newfoundland, the furs of Hudson Bay, the sugar of Barbados, gave to these possessions their value. The story of Virginia is the record of the rise of the tobacco industry.

The growth of colonies also gave a market for English manufactured goods. Already by the middle of the century the colonial trade had become sufficiently large to cause Englishmen to try to keep it to themselves, to the inconvenience not only of the Dutch, but of the colonists as well.

The development of a more systematic colonial policy during the Restoration marks off the latter half of the century rather distinctly from the preceding fifty years. Pragmatic, economic aims became more prominent. This growing interest in colonies and commerce accounts largely for the rivalry with Holland and for the rise of difficulties with France. It was as the result of the impulses growing from decidedly practical ends that the old colonial system began to take shape after 1660.¹

England's rivals in the colonial field were unable to show anything like the activity and fruitful labor that was to the credit of the British at the close of the seventeenth century. Spain was already decadent. Portugal had seen the days of its greatness as a world-power, and henceforth the friendship of England was to be the guarantee of the continuation of the remnant of its former glory. The Dutch had been the severest contestants of the English for supremacy. During the first half of the century the rivalry was between equals, but by 1700 Holland had lost the leadership in commerce to England. The causes for Dutch weakness included smaller resources and the great drain upon them caused by the wars with England and the almost continuous conflict waged with France during the latter half of the century. Holland was not a nation in the sense that England and France were, but more a group of city-states; internal disagreement was thus better able to weaken its effectiveness. Above all, there was lacking the imperial sentiment and the eagerness for expansion which gave constant acceleration to English growth beyond the seas.

The country that took Holland's place during the latter part of the century as the rival of England was France. Under Louis XIV France became the undoubted leader of Europe, even threatening for a time to dominate the Continent. The French entered on colonial expansion with resources back of their efforts that were much greater than those of Spain, Portugal, Holland, or even of England. By 1700 England and France had become bitter enemies and were to remain

¹ See chapter VII for the rise of the old colonial system.

so for over one hundred years. Therefore, the rise of the French colonial empire and its conflict with the course of English expansion will be the next subject of study.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The volumes by Cunningham will still be found useful. For the works on India see the Bibliographical Note to the following chapter.

CHAPTER VI

THE DUEL WITH FRANCE

THE "entente cordiale" of France and Great Britain in the early years of the twentieth century has been commonly regarded as the healing of an ancient breach between these two nations of western Europe. It is true that during the Middle Ages there had been conflict, notably the Hundred Years' War, in the course of which England was practically driven from the Continent. It is by no means true, however, that there was a continuous state of war, recognized or unrecognized, between the two countries before the days of Louis XIV. During the century that saw Henry VIII and Elizabeth the principal English rulers, foreign policy showed no consistent opposition to France. Henry alternately bestowed his favor on France and Spain. Philip II and Elizabeth were bitter enemies, and this led to Anglo-French friendliness. James I made a marriage treaty with the French King in 1624 with the result that the wife of Charles I was a French princess. During the Commonwealth the Dutch were the rivals of the English abroad, while Cromwell and Mazarin worked in concert. This situation continued during the reign of Charles II. It was in the famous Treaty of Dover in 1670 that Louis XIV and Charles II agreed to unite against their common enemy.

With the Revolution of 1688 all was changed. A period of almost unceasing warfare began between England and France, which is sometimes conveniently called the "Second Hundred Years' War." When William of Holland became King of England, the latter country joined in the Dutch opposition to France. From 1689 to 1697 there was the "War of the League of Augsburg" or "King William's War." It was soon followed by the conflict over the Spanish Succession from 1702 to 1713. The War of the Austrian Succession was in progress from 1739 to 1748 and the Seven Years' War

from 1756 to 1763. The American Revolution, during the course of which France, Spain, and Holland became Britain's enemies, began in 1775 and closed in 1783. Ten years later the long twenty-three years' war against the French Revolution and Napoleon embroiled the two countries. In all these great struggles France and England were on opposite sides. The eighteenth century was for England predominantly a time of war — especially against France. Over half of the one hundred and twenty-six years from the accession of William III in 1689 to the overthrow of Napoleon in 1815 was occupied by armed conflict between these two countries.

The ascendancy of France under Louis XIV accounts partly for this ill feeling. When Louis became the actual ruler of his country in 1661, he found a nation well prepared to assist him in his ambitious designs. The ministries of Sully, Richelieu, and Mazarin had brought wealth to the monarch, efficiency into the army, and success into diplomacy. The "Grand Monarque" had extravagant ideas of divine right and very optimistic conceptions of the French "natural" boundaries. In consequence, he was engaged almost constantly in war with his neighbors until his death in 1715. For a time it appeared as though he might become the dictator of European affairs. As in the days of Napoleon and again in 1914, when a similar danger arose, great alliances were formed against the nation endeavoring to disturb the established equilibrium.

A contributory cause to the rivalry of these two countries is found in the colonial rivalry of France and England. It would be truer to fact to say that this is the explanation of this continued state of war; no inherent repugnance nor inherited antipathy can so easily account for it. At first the colonial aspect did not seem to be very important, but as the wars succeeded one another in rapid succession, this issue became more and more prominent. Britain's commercial dominance and colonial empire grew at the expense of France, as it had grown at the expense of Holland and Spain in the previous centuries. The seven wars of this period are really

varying phases of one great conflict, a duel from which Britain was to emerge the unquestionable victor and the master of possessions unrivaled in extent and importance. Since that time the wars of Europe have been increasingly concerned with commercial and colonial matters. The World War of 1914 is but the most recent illustration.

FRANCE IN AMERICA AND INDIA

Before this duel is examined in detail as contributing to the growth of the British Empire, we must find how a French colonial empire was added as a fifth to those of Spain, Portugal, Holland, and England. The voyage of Verrazano, a Florentine sailing under the French flag, was undertaken in 1524, but resulted in no permanent settlement. In 1536 Jacques Cartier sailed up the St. Lawrence, finally reaching the Lachine Rapids in a rowboat. Near these rapids — the name again reminds us of the search for an opening to China — was Hochelaga, an Indian village of importance, and the site of an Indian settlement to-day. Cartier ascended Mount Royal, now located in the center of the city of Montreal, and then returned to Quebec, where he spent the winter. Though furs and fish continued to attract Frenchmen to this part of the world, no permanent occupation occurred until Champlain built a fort at Quebec in 1608.

This courageous fur-trader and colonizer, unhappily for France, joined with the Indians of the St. Lawrence region against their enemies to the south, known as the Iroquois. In a war-expedition Champlain saw for the first time the lake that is known by his name and frightened into bitter hatred the Iroquois war-party, astonished by his appearance and firearms. To this unfortunate interference in Indian quarrels is to be traced much of the later ill fortune of the French. It caused great inconvenience to the fur-traders, hindered the earnest work of Jesuit missionaries intent on the conversion of the aborigines, and lent to later French and English border warfare a character of much cruelty. Until his death in 1635 Champlain was the moving spirit in French progress on the North American continent. By his dauntless cour-

age, great interest in exploration, and unwearied patience he stamped his influence strongly on the colony of New France.¹

When the personal rule of Louis XIV began, there were but a few thousand white settlers in New France and Acadia. This vigorous monarch gave new force to French colonial enterprise. Explorers made known the river courses of the central part of the continent. It is probable that Jean Nicolet had camped on the banks of the Wisconsin about 1640, and Radisson and Grosseilliers near the headwaters of the Mississippi twenty years later. Ten years thereafter La Salle reached the Ohio and the Illinois. In the year 1671, in the presence of fourteen Indian tribes, the French took formal possession of the region of the Great Lakes at the Sault Ste. Marie. In 1673 Joliet and Marquette voyaged down the Mississippi as far as Arkansas, and La Salle reached the mouth of the great "Father of Waters" in 1682. He named the country Louisiana in honor of the French King for whom he took possession of the country.

The energy of Louis XIV's rule was insufficient, however, to "possess" this vast territory extending from Acadia to the Rio Grande, in the solid fashion of the English occupation along the Atlantic seaboard. France had great resources, but divided interests. As a continental nation it was keenly concerned in European affairs, and the fruitless efforts to obtain extensive territories on the Continent cost the French much treasure and life, while England was able to give stricter attention to its oversea interests. The French governmental system was especially rigid, and enterprise was greatly dependent on royal authority. French colonizing companies had difficulty in finding people willing to go to

¹ The interest of Champlain in a route across the continent to the riches of the East was as keen as that of the colonists who established their post at Jamestown two years before Champlain founded the city of Quebec. In 1615 he discovered Lake Huron, where he heard of rumors of a great river by which he hoped to reach Cathay. A year before Champlain's death he sent an explorer, Jean Nicolet by name, still farther westward with the result that Lake Michigan became known. So confident was Nicolet of being able to make his way to China that he provided himself with a "grand robe of China damask all strewn with flowers and birds of many colors," similar to those worn by the mandarins.

new lands in large numbers. Moreover, English colonies had been indebted to religious dissatisfaction, but New France was closed to any but Catholics. Louis XIV's great minister of finance, Colbert, made great efforts to stimulate industry, commerce, and colonization, but his artificial schemes suffered from over-regulation, as a glance at the fortunes of the French East India Company will serve to show.

France was interested elsewhere than on the continent of North America. Mention has already been made of its co-operation with the Dutch and English in the West Indies.¹ Martinique and Guadeloupe, two of the most important West Indian islands, became French in 1635; they form a part of the French colonial empire to-day. The islands of Madagascar, Île de France, and Île de Bourbon became French possessions about the middle of the seventeenth century and served as convenient stopping-places on the journey to India, for the French came to India as other builders of empire had before them.

Not until 1664, sixty years after the initial undertakings of the English and Dutch East India Companies, was the first French Company formed. It had a capital of fifteen million livres, provided very largely by those near the King. It was a great contrast to the English Company which began away from the court. In France, the King urged an unwilling people to become interested in oversea trade; one hundred and nineteen *lettres de cachet* were sent out by Louis to arouse interest in the new Company. Comparatively few merchants, notwithstanding, took an active part in its development. In addition, it was greatly restricted by being bound to the religious and political conditions in France, becoming almost a department of state, with conscious colonizing intentions. It is not surprising that in the first eleven years of the Company's life over six and a half million of livres were lost. In spite of these untoward beginnings, settlements were made in India, which were later to become bases for conflict with the English. Factories were established at Surat and Masulipatam in 1668 and 1669. In 1674 Pondichéry, a few miles

¹ See pp. 52, 53.

south of Madras, was founded. Two years later, a factory was placed at Chandernagore in Bengal, a little north of the site of Calcutta.

THE DUEL IN AMERICA

Thus the French had made a start in India before 1689, and in North America had encircled the English settlements by vague claims based on the work of daring explorers. The story of the conflict of these two nations with their adjacent colonies is a complicated one. The wars were not fought in one arena, but in Europe, on the sea, in North America, and in the Far East. The wars in Europe are of secondary interest for the present study, although Pitt could say with a large measure of truth that "America was conquered in Germany." The large population of the English colonies along the western shore of the Atlantic and the French occupation of the St. Lawrence meant war in North America with the very inception of national trouble. In India the duel did not grow serious until about 1745, when Dupleix gave strong expression to French plans. It will, therefore, be convenient to deal, in the first place, with the American theater of action. India will next claim attention. Then definite conclusions can be drawn as to the effect of this long period of Anglo-French contention.

The war waged against France from 1689 to 1697 is known in European history as the "War of the League of Augsburg." In American colonial annals it has the name of "King William's War." The country that was in dispute lay between the English frontier settlements on the northwest and the Great Lakes. It so happened that the region extending from western New England to Lake Erie, and even to Lake Michigan and south to the Ohio, was under the control of the Iroquois League, the most powerful Indian organization on the continent. It consisted of five nations — the Mohawks to the east and the Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas in that order to the west. Reputed to be able warriors, they were bitter enemies of the Algonquins in the St. Lawrence valley and of the Hurons farther west. Cham-

plain's alliance with the Algonquins made the Iroquois the enemies of France.

Before 1689 the French had made several attacks on the Iroquois with but slight success. In 1684 the English had held an important conference with the Five Nations at Albany. There the Indians acknowledged English sovereignty and permitted the arms of the Duke of York to be placed on the walls of Iroquois villages. Governor Dongan thereupon informed the French Governor of Canada that the land under his care included all the territory south and southwest of the "Lake of Canada." When the Treaty of Neutrality was signed by France and England in 1686 at London, Dongan interpreted it as prohibiting any relation between the French and "our Indians on this side of the Great Lake."

When King William's War opened, the French were in a good position to work out their plans. Count Frontenac, who was sent to Canada in 1690, led vigorous attacks on English outposts. Schenectady near Albany, Salmon Falls in New Hampshire, and Portland in Maine were successfully attacked with great cruelty. As a result an English inter-colonial congress was called with delegates from Massachusetts, New Plymouth, Connecticut, and New York. An expedition was planned against Montreal, in which the soldiers of the four colonies were to be assisted by the Iroquois. In addition a naval expedition was to leave Massachusetts for Quebec. The land expedition was abandoned at Lake Champlain, and Sir William Phips, in charge of the attack on Quebec, was unable to capture this key-position of New France. During the latter part of the war, Indian attacks continued, but peace in 1697 left the combatants in about the same position they were at the beginning of the struggle.

The War of the Spanish Succession came after four years of peace. "Queen Anne's War," as its American counterpart was called, was similar in character to the previous conflict, except that more assistance came to the colonies from Britain. Deerfield, Massachusetts, was surprised in 1704 by a party of Indians and Canadians. The oft-told story of the massacre and of the hardships of the captives well illustrates

the severe character of frontier life during the days of the colonial wars.¹

British overland expeditions suffered from the lukewarmness and instability of the Iroquois, who kept on peaceful terms with the French in the early years of the war. In 1710 Port Royal in Acadia was taken by a British fleet with the assistance of colonial troops; it was renamed Annapolis Royal and continued from that time to be in British hands. In the next year a great fleet of eleven war vessels and sixty transports carrying twelve thousand men was sent to attack Canada. It was amply sufficient to have settled the question of the possession of the St. Lawrence in favor of the British. The fleet under Sir Hovenden Walker and the army under John Hill — brother of Queen Anne's favorite, Mrs. Masham — were so inefficiently led that ten ships and nine hundred men were lost in the St. Lawrence in a vain attempt to reach Quebec.

Elsewhere the war on the sea had been in favor of Great Britain. France had been badly defeated in the naval battle of La Hogue in 1692, and Louis was so busy on the Continent and his resources so heavily taxed that he had no opportunity to strengthen his weakened maritime forces. This partly accounts for a conspicuous English success, the capture of Gibraltar in 1704. Sir George Rooke, in command of the British fleet in the Mediterranean, had failed to capture Barcelona or Toulon. Meeting another English fleet under Sir Cloudesley Shovel, he determined to attack Gibraltar because of its insufficient garrison and strategic importance. It was easily taken and has given Great Britain the key to the western opening of the Mediterranean ever since. The Spanish and French immediately set about the recapture of the place, but the combined fleets of the two countries were unable to win a decisive victory over Rooke off Malaga.

¹ The ostensible purpose of the expedition was to obtain the church bell of Deerfield. It had been bought in France for the Indian village of Caughnawaga near Montreal. The vessel carrying it to America was captured by a New England privateer and the bell sold to the Deerfield congregation. The attacking party obtained the bell, but did much more. Half a hundred of the villagers were killed and twice as many taken into captivity.

A little later the French made an unsuccessful attack on Gibraltar.

THE PEACE OF UTRECHT

In 1713 the War of the Spanish Succession was ended by a series of treaties among the various belligerents; several commercial agreements were included. The Peace of Utrecht is exceedingly important in the study of British expansion, for notable progress was registered in the accession of colonial territory, in the increasing security of its maritime control, and in the development of British commerce. Although France retained Cape Breton Island and Louisburg, Acadia, later to be known as Nova Scotia, was abandoned to Great Britain. The French also acknowledged British sovereignty over the Iroquois, and the Hudson Bay territories were recognized as British. France gave up all claim to Newfoundland, but retained fishing rights as well as the privilege of curing fish on the shores of the island. St. Christopher in the West Indies had been jointly occupied by France and Great Britain up to this time; henceforth it was to be solely British.

The Spanish made several important concessions to Great Britain. Both Gibraltar and the island of Minorca were left in British hands. The impregnable rock at the western entrance to the Mediterranean was to prove one of the most valuable stations in the enlarging dominions. Minorca, with its splendid, fortified harbor of Port Mahon, served as a naval station in the Mediterranean. In the wars against Napoleon it was to be replaced by the more strategically located island of Malta. Spain also granted Great Britain commercial concessions. The British were given the sole right of importing negroes for thirty years from Africa for the supply of the Spanish colonies in America. By the *Asiento* Great Britain agreed to furnish each year four thousand and eight hundred negroes. In addition, the British could send annually to the shores of South America one trading vessel of not more than five hundred tons. This may not appear of great commercial value, yet it was the only trading privilege granted to

any European nation outside the motherland of Spain. As we shall find, this slight opening served as an ever-broadening avenue for British commerce.¹

There were other terms in the treaties which, if not so well known, served in a very direct way to further British maritime and commercial progress. Holland emerged from the struggle a victor, but the Dutch made no colonial advance and were so weak on the sea that henceforth they ceased to be important rivals of the British. France gave up all pretensions to maritime power in the English Channel by razing the fortifications and filling up the harbor of Dunkirk. This port had been a base for privateering warfare against England. Britain guarded against the increase of French colonial power in the New World by a provision of the Anglo-Spanish treaty; Spain promised never to transfer land in America to France or any other nation. The treaty between France and Portugal was important for Great Britain, since Portugal, even as early as this, was in close relation with Britain. France acknowledged the sole sovereignty of the Portuguese over the settlements in the Amazon, and gave up all right, on the part of the French colony of Cayenne (French Guiana), to trade in the Amazon region. As Brazilian trade was almost solely British, this provision was directly in favor of Great Britain.

The position of England in 1713 was indeed commanding. Louis XIV was to die two years later, leaving an exhausted treasury and a weakened country. The navy of France was in no position to contend for or protect colonial possessions. Great Britain was already the winner of the race in the struggle for empire, for France was certain to succumb to the undivided interests of its maritime opponent. Admiral Mahan well summarizes the position of England at this time: "The sea-power of England was not merely in the great navy. . . . Neither was it in a prosperous commerce. . . . It was in the union of the two carefully fostered that England made the gain of sea-power over and beyond all other states; and this gain is distinctly associated with and dates from the

¹ See below, p. 84.

War of the Spanish Succession. Before that war England was one of the sea-powers; after that, she was *the* sea-power, without any second. This power, also, she held unshared by friend and unchecked by foe.”¹

After Utrecht, England remained at peace for about twenty-five years. It was a period of uninterrupted commercial expansion with Walpole as the pilot of the state for much of the time. His aversion to war, even to a successful war, was caused by his interest in English industrial and commercial progress. But war finally came in 1739. It began with Spain and Britain as the opponents, although it was not long before England's enemies included France. Friction had arisen with Spain over trade. When Spain let down the bars to one English ship, illegal commerce was indulged in by the English; they stationed the one ship off the coast of South America, where she was continually loaded and unloaded from other English vessels. The Spaniard, in order to prevent smuggling and this violation of a treaty entered into between the two countries, rigidly enforced the right of search. Cruelty was exercised, one case of which became prominent. Robert Jenkins, a captain, asserted that his ear had been cut off when his ship had been attacked by a Spanish boarding party. On his return to England, he carried the severed member about in cotton and aroused war feeling by declaring that, as a result of the indignity, he had commended his soul to God and his cause to his country. The country became so enthusiastic over the cause that Walpole was forced to declare war. This war was soon linked with the War of the Austrian Succession, in which various continental powers, including Spain, France, and Prussia, sought portions of the territory of the young Austrian Queen, Maria Theresa.

For France and Great Britain it was but one more stage in their colonial rivalry. In 1743, by the Second Family Compact, the two Bourbon countries became allied, France agreeing to assist in the recapture of Gibraltar and Minorca, and Spain promising to transfer the Asiento to its ally. The British found the opposition severe during this war, and did

¹ A. T. Mahan, *The Influence of Sea-Power upon History, 1660-1783*, p. 225.

not come out of the struggle with conspicuous success. The British, however, were the victors in America. After the loss of Acadia, the French had built at great expense and labor the stronghold of Louisburg on Cape Breton Island, where it commanded the entrance to the Gulf of the St. Lawrence. Governor Shirley of Massachusetts prepared an expedition of nearly four thousand men and one hundred ships under Colonel Pepperell, which joined with a British squadron under Commodore Warren in an attack on Louisburg. The fort was captured in 1745. Twice in the next two years the French sent fleets to recapture it, but with no success. As a counterbalance to this loss the French captured Madras in India. In a naval battle off Toulon in 1744 the British were not conspicuously successful, but in 1747 two British victories — that of Anson off Cape Finisterre and of Hawke off Belle Isle — completed the destruction of the French navy.

The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle brought but another interregnum in the long duel. Louisburg was restored to the French and Madras to the English. The Asiento was renewed for four years. If the war brought few territorial changes, commerce suffered severely. Great Britain lost over three thousand vessels, while the French and Spanish combined lost five hundred more than the English. In consequence, the relatively small fleets of France and Spain suffered in much greater proportion than these figures would indicate. The French want of an adequate navy is more than ever in evidence, while it is clear that Britain was again saved by sea-power, even if it were not always used with signal ability.

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

The culmination of the series of conflicts was the Seven Years' War, which began in 1756. It was a gigantic struggle. On the continent of Europe, Frederick the Great of Prussia, assisted by the subsidies of Britain, fought tirelessly against Russia, Austria, and France. On the sea, in America, in India, the issue was sharply drawn between England and France.

Fortunately for Great Britain, there was a man at the head of affairs who saw clearly the issue in its largest meaning and was not content with a stalemate. William Pitt is largely responsible for the extraordinary measure of success that Britain attained in this mid-century war. He was forty-eight years of age when the war began and had already made his mark in parliamentary life. His grandfather, Thomas Pitt, had been Governor of Madras, and he had raised the family to a place of wealth and political influence through the sale of a remarkably large diamond for the sum of £135,000. The tenure of Old Sarum, later so conspicuous as a "rotten borough," was purchased; it was from this borough that William Pitt went to Parliament. There he exercised great influence by his oratorical gifts, his integrity, and the sweep of his ideas. Grattan said of him: "In the conduct of affairs he saw the British Empire as a whole and refused to allow England to be lost in the intricacies of continental politics." Pitt was alive to the need of keeping France busy at home, so that his liberal subsidies to Frederick the Great during the war served indirectly his main purpose. He showed also a wonderful power in choosing lieutenants who could do things, and in arousing them to something of his own tremendous energy.

Great Britain was in need of a vigorous leader, as the French were feverishly active in India and North America. Louisburg had been made stronger than ever, and the French were busy trying to arouse the people of Acadia to revolt. So serious did this menace seem that the military authorities decided to deport the Acadians. Accordingly, in 1755, about six thousand of them were carried to the English colonies to the south. There was inevitable hardship and misfortune, which Longfellow has idealized in his *Evangeline*. As war was imminent and the Acadians, who were living within the range of military operations, refused to give oaths of allegiance, the British authorities felt that deportation was necessary. It was at about this time that the British subdued the country to the west of Acadia, now known as New Brunswick.

More serious still was the aggressive attitude of the French in the Ohio valley. Marquis Duquesne, Governor of Canada, had undertaken to establish a chain of forts in the disputed territory. In 1754 Fort Duquesne had been built at the point where the Monongahela and Allegheny Rivers unite to form the Ohio. In the next year General Braddock was sent from England with regular troops to capture Fort Duquesne. Virginian colonials, among whom was George Washington, assisted in the campaign. The expedition was totally defeated with the loss of its leader and seven hundred men, about ten miles from the fort, largely because Braddock refused to fight in frontier fashion.

On the eastern side of the Atlantic, the war began inauspiciously for Britain. Early in 1756 Great Britain was led to fear invasion, which proved to be merely a blind to cover a successful attack on Minorca. The British squadron under Admiral Byng was unable to prevent the capture of the island. Nothing shows better the hold that empire-building and commercial interests had on the British mind than the storm of indignation with which the defeat was received.

Up to this point Pitt had not been the leader of the country politically, as the King could not endure him. Finally in 1757, to the disgust of the monarch, he was given the whole charge of foreign affairs. Soon Pitt's plans began to bear fruit. In America four campaigns were waged. In 1758 a strong British force under Admiral Boscawen and General Amherst was sent to capture Louisburg. The fortress was taken and two years later demolished, it was of no particular value to the English, as Halifax had been founded by the British to take its place. A second expedition against the French forts on Lake Champlain and Lake George was repulsed. But a force sent against Fort Duquesne succeeded in capturing this important post; it was renamed Fort Pitt and was later to become the busy industrial center of Pittsburgh. A fourth expedition destroyed Fort Frontenac, commanding the outlet from Lake Ontario, where the city of Kingston now stands.

In the next year elaborate preparations were set on foot for

the conquest of Canada. Niagara was taken, but Amherst, who was to approach Quebec by land, could not proceed farther than Lake Champlain. Therefore, the naval expedition under General Wolfe, who had assisted in the capture of Louisburg, was compelled to attack Quebec without the assistance of Amherst. Wolfe had nine thousand men and a strong fleet under Admiral Saunders. Montcalm, the French commander, had fifteen thousand men for the defense of Quebec. As the city was located on high bluffs overlooking the river, it was in a position difficult to attack. Wolfe, therefore, decided to approach the city from the rear. His soldiers scaled the cliffs some distance above the town and presented themselves to the astonished gaze of Montcalm on the morning of September 13, 1759, drawn up in battle array on the Plains of Abraham. The British were victorious; in the next year their hold on Canada was assured by the capture of Montreal, the last French stronghold on the St. Lawrence. The fate of New France had been decided.

In other quarters Pitt's leadership was equally fruitful. A naval force was sent against the French possessions on the west African coast. Here the districts about the Senegal River, the island of Gorée and Lagos became British. The French West Indian islands of Marie Galante, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Grenada, Sta. Lucia, and St. Vincent were captured. Spain, which had joined France against Great Britain, suffered the loss of Havana in the West Indies and of the Philippines in the Far East. The British fleet under Boscowen — he was popularly known as "Old Dreadnought" — dispersed the French fleet in the Mediterranean, and Hawke won a brilliant victory over the enemy's fleet from Brest in Quiberon Bay near the mouth of the Loire. Horace Walpole declared with truth: "Indeed, one is forced to ask every morning what victory there is for fear of missing one."

ANCIENT INDIA

In the meantime secure foundations were being laid for empire in India. There the conflict between the French and the British had not begun so early as in America. It was not un-

til the War of the Austrian Succession that the two countries found their interests clashing in the Far East. A clear understanding of this part of the great duel is dependent on a knowledge of the internal conditions of this future home of



British power. Heretofore, we have not had occasion to go inland from the coast, as the early settlements were but trading-posts on the ocean or on some convenient river. Therefore, even though there is a slight interruption to the

narrative, it is necessary to find for what sort of a country these two western nations were striving so far from the homelands.

When Europe began to trade with India, it was already occupied by a very large and a very complex population. India was quite different from the North American continent, where the aborigines were few in number, and but poorly organized. The highest developed group in America, the Five Nations, was far behind the Indian groups in governmental power. Although the Iroquois were important in the wars we have been considering, they ceased to be a serious menace long before the peoples of India were under British control. The aborigines of North America are no longer a problem to Canada, but the people of India are causing the British statesmen of to-day very serious thought.

Probably as far back as 2000 B.C. Aryans invaded India and found there before them well-advanced tribes known as Dravidians. The Aryans developed the various forms of Hinduism until all parts of India were more or less Hindu in culture. It was just about the time of the "fall" of the Roman Empire (500 A.D.) that Hinduism was at its golden age. But political centralization was impossible of attainment in so large a peninsula as that of India with so diverse a population. The Rajput kingdoms arose shortly after the golden age, and their name and descendants are preserved to-day in Rajputana. About this time the Huns invaded India, only to be assimilated. More momentous for the future of the country were the invasions by the Mohammedans, who began entering the peninsula about the year 1000 A.D. Turks, Afghans, and Mongols came in successive hordes, culminating in the establishment of the Mogul dynasty by Babar in 1526.

Babar was a lineal descendant of the famous Tartar known as Tamerlane. When he died in 1530, the Mohammedans had captured Delhi and extended their Empire to lower Bengal. Akbar the Great, Emperor from 1556 to 1605, was the next ruler of importance and the real founder of the Mogul Empire. Under him the Rajputs were reduced, the Hindus

conciliated, and the various independent Mohammedan kingdoms of northern India conquered. He labored with less success to establish his power south of the Vindhya Hills, which serve as the northern boundary of peninsular India.¹ Akbar's Empire was not unlike the great feudal creations of western Europe; the country was partitioned into provinces and ruled over by governors who were bound to make stated payments of revenue to their emperor.

Akbar was succeeded by his favorite son, Jahangir, who ruled until 1627. Sir Thomas Roe, the agent of the East India Company, of whom mention has already been made, was a resident at his court. Under Jahangir's successor incessant strife continued, especially in the south. With Aurungzeb, who became Emperor in 1658 and ruled for the rest of the century, the Mogul Empire attained its widest limits. Continuous war was the penalty, for already there were evidences of decay. Aurungzeb's utmost efforts to conquer southern India were hindered by the rise of a strong Hindu confederacy in the central and western parts of the peninsula, composed of tribes known as Marathas. Under their great leader, Sivaji, who died in 1680, the Marathas forced tribute from Mogul provinces in southern India and gave deadly body-blows to the Empire founded by Babar. When the British set about consolidating their conquests in the next century, we shall find that the Marathas formed the most serious obstacle to the growth of the British rule.

After the death of Aurungzeb in 1707, the Mogul Empire rapidly disintegrated. The Deccan became independent during the first half of the eighteenth century. Oudh, in the central Ganges valley, and Rajputana obtained their freedom. The Marathas secured the cession of Malwa and Orissa, and wrested tribute from Bengal. The climax came in 1759, when the Marathas captured Delhi, the ancient capital, and became masters of the person of the emperor.

¹ This range stretches in an easterly and westerly direction a few hundred miles above Surat. The territory south of this line of hills is known as the Deccan.

THE DUEL IN INDIA

All this is very important for understanding the struggle of the British and French in India. Their contest came to its height just as the old Mogul Empire was declining. Various small independent states and subordinate governments with indefinite obligations to their superior states were growing out of the misrule of Aurungzeb and his successors. It was just the opportunity that the foreigners needed. Penetration into the interior came by the use of an intricate diplomacy, by the setting of one prince against another, and by the furnishing of European advisers and military assistance for ambitious or hard-pressed native rulers.

During the War of the Austrian Succession the French were making efforts to establish a firmer hold in the territory about their trading-post of Pondichéry in the Carnatic and around Chandernagore in Bengal by taking advantage of the unstable political situation we have been describing. The man responsible for what measure of success the French attained was Dupleix. As early as 1720 he had gone to Pondichéry as a member of the Superior Council. There he gained a large private fortune. In 1731 he went to Chandernagore as Intendant and infused some of his energy into this French outpost in Bengal. As a result of his conspicuous accomplishments, he was made commander of the French possessions in India in 1741. Dupleix was a master of diplomacy, skillfully reaching the hearts of eastern potentates by munificent presents and much ostentatious display. He used the rivalries of native states to further his ends, but this meant continual and exhausting warfare. Had his aggressive plans been seconded by the home government, it might have led to the permanent discomfiture of the British. He was not backed in his schemes partly because of the jealousy his immense financial gains aroused; in consequence, Dupleix had to spend much of his private fortune to forward his plans. Moreover, the control of the sea was lacking when it was most needed.

When the French and British conflict extended to India in

1745, a British fleet appeared off Pondichéry. Dupleix, at this juncture, gave a goodly present to the Nawab of Arcot — the ruler of the lowland stretch between the central plateau and the sea — and the Nawab, in turn, threatened vengeance on the British if they injured French interests. Next year, when the hostilities were renewed, La Bourdonnais had come from Madagascar with a fleet that prevented the British from doing harm to the French settlement; he was even able to capture Madras with little difficulty. But Dupleix and La Bourdonnais were bitter rivals. The admiral wished to restore Madras to the British for a ransom, while Dupleix desired to make it a strong French port. As La Bourdonnais' fleet was badly injured by the monsoon — to the ill-concealed joy of Dupleix — this left the French commander at Pondichéry free to treat Madras as he wished; in the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 it was restored to the British to balance the restoration of Louisburg to France.

In spite of this setback, Dupleix's diplomacy was at work to further the growth of French influence. A disputed succession at Arcot gave him the chance to place his nominee on the throne. At the same time a similar condition in Haidarabad resulted in the appointment of Dupleix's choice as Nizam. The Nizam of Haidarabad ruled in the Deccan proper and had a nominal authority over the entire southern part of the peninsula including the territory of the Nawab of Arcot. Had Dupleix been uninterrupted by the British, he might have laid secure foundations for French control by means of his artful diplomacy.

The British, however, were fortunate in having in India one who was capable of opposing Dupleix successfully. Robert Clive had gone in 1743 to the Carnatic as a "writer" for the Company, but he was uncomfortable under the restraint and monotony of the work. He fought a duel, and under fits of depression he tried to commit suicide. When Madras was taken by La Bourdonnais, he escaped with some others to Fort St. David, some twenty miles south. Here he became an ensign, and had already shown signs of military ability — a quality that Dupleix lacked — before the Peace

of Aix-la-Chapelle. While the Nawab of Arcot, who had recently been made the ruler under French influence, was besieging an English garrison at Trichonopoli, Clive conceived the idea of capturing his capital, Arcot. The work was brilliantly done with two hundred Europeans and three hundred native troops in 1751. The French were unable to recapture the citadel, and finally Clive and his little army were relieved after a fifty-day siege.

By this bold stroke the British were able to establish, in the opinion of the natives, their reputation for power. Clive was hailed by the natives as "The Daring in War," and Pitt proclaimed him a "heaven-born" general. The French, however, continued to be powerful in the Deccan as a whole. It was not until toward the close of the Seven Years' War that they were decisively defeated in this part of India. By that time both La Bourdonnais and Dupleix had returned to France in disgrace. De Bussy remained in the Deccan where he labored to build up French influence. A strong expeditionary force was sent out to India in 1758 under Count Lally, who captured Fort St. David and invested Madras in the spring of 1759. The resistance was stubborn, and at the needed moment a British fleet under Admiral Pocock appeared to raise the siege. Pocock, in the autumn of 1759, successfully kept off another French fleet that had come to Lally's assistance, now that the latter, in his turn, was besieged in Pondichéry. Sea-power was again the decisive factor. On land, Lally was defeated in 1760 at Wandewash by Colonel Eyre Coote, and Pondichéry was invested and starved into capitulation in January, 1761. With its capture the British had become supreme on the Coromandel coast.

In Bengal the duel was carried on with equal stubbornness. Again Clive made possible an ultimate British victory. The event that brought him to Bengal was the terrible "Black Hole" incident at Calcutta. The local Nawab of Lower Bengal, Suraj-ud-daulah, was suspicious of British expansion. Possessed by an ungovernable temper, he had pursued one of his family to Calcutta in the year 1756. The runaway, who was protected by the English, was one whose

wealth the Nawab coveted; he accused the British of a similar design. The strengthening of the Calcutta fortifications made the Nawab, in addition, suspicious that the British exploits in the Carnatic would be attempted in Bengal. The town was easily taken and the few Europeans who remained heroically to continue the hopeless defense were thrust for the night into a military jail at Fort William. One hundred and forty-six Europeans were confined in a room less than eighteen feet square and with two small barred windows opening into a low veranda. In the morning only twenty-three remained alive. The Nawab showed no regret save that he had not had the pleasure of witnessing personally the torture of his victims. With the capture of Calcutta, Suraj-ud-daulah no longer feared the foreigners; he could govern them, he said, with a pair of slippers. The British let little time pass before they took measures to set matters aright.

Fortunately Clive had just returned from England to Madras as Lieutenant-Colonel. He hastened to Bengal, where Calcutta was recovered with little difficulty. By that time war had reopened between France and England, and that meant war in India as well. Clive proceeded to capture the French fortress of Chandernagore. Through fear and rage the Nawab reopened hostilities against the British. Clive, who had anticipated that this step would be taken, had bribed the Nawab's commander, Mir Jafar, to desert in case of battle. The decisive conflict occurred in 1757 at Plassey, seventy-five miles north of Calcutta, where one thousand Europeans and two thousand native troops defeated fifty thousand of the Nawab's forces, who were aided by some fifty Frenchmen. Mir Jafar's cavalry joined the English camp when the victory was assured, and, as his reward, he was declared the successor of Suraj-ud-daulah as Nawab of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa. After the capture of the capital, Murshidabad, immense sums were wrested from the country as compensation to the Company and to various individuals.¹

¹ The narrative of Indian development is continued in chapter XII.

THE PEACE OF PARIS

We have now reviewed the remarkable succession of victories won by the British under the lead of Pitt. A victorious war was brought to an end by the Peace of Paris in 1763. In North America, France gave up Canada, Nova Scotia, and all the territory east of the Mississippi save New Orleans. France was given two small islands near Newfoundland as fishing stations, and in the West Indies it received back Guadeloupe and Martinique. Havana was restored to Spain and Minorca to Britain. By a previous treaty, France had ceded Louisiana and New Orleans to Spain. In India, France recovered its possessions, but could erect no fortifications in Bengal. The English Company retained its conquests of native territory.

By this treaty France, the last great rival of Great Britain, retired from the struggle for a great oversea empire. The result was owing to Great Britain's navy, to undivided interests, and to the leadership of William Pitt. War as well as trade had come to minister to British expansion. Horace Walpole's oft-quoted words express the opinion of a contemporary: "I shall burn my Greek and Latin books. They are the histories of little people. We subdue the globe in three campaigns, and a globe as big again as it was in their days."

With the close of the Seven Years' War, the old colonial Empire of England had been formed. Before describing its partial loss in the revolt of the American colonies and its reconstruction as a new and greater Britain, it is necessary to understand the conception Englishmen had, in the days before the American Revolution, of their lands over the seas, and of the way in which they were governed.

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The life of William Pitt is so closely bound up with Anglo-French rivalry that it may be well to mention the two most important lives of this great minister: Basil Williams, *The Life of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham* (2 vols., New York, 1913), is favorable to Pitt; Albert von Ruville, *William Pitt, Earl of Chatham* (English translation, 3 vols., New York, 1907), is hostile.

CHAPTER VII

THE OLD COLONIAL SYSTEM

A MISCONCEPTION is apt to arise from the use of the word "system" in describing the relation of the mother country to the colonies in the eighteenth century. There was very little of the complex organization that has arisen since in the handling of the Empire. In this distinction is found an important difference between the "old" and "new" colonial Empires of Great Britain. As colonial possessions have increased, more attention has been paid to the colonies, but the development of the imperial organization has always been more marked for its deference to local conditions than for any attempt to "standardize" the treatment of the oversea possessions. The lack of system was especially inevitable in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, for the idea of empire was comparatively new, especially of empire as widespread as that of Britain and so widely separated by stretches of sea. Nevertheless, the imperial structure that was taking shape bore the impress of the master minds that were creating it. It was receiving the cultural heritage that had been accumulating in the homeland, and was already significant for the adaptation to varying environments of the ideals which have always served as the strongest of bonds in greater Britain. In this chapter we shall try to find what sort of an empire, in interests and government, had evolved by the time of the signal victory over France in 1763.

A review of the origins of the Empire will make clear that the ruling motive throughout its growth had been the fostering of trade and commerce. We have seen how the lure of valuable products for enriching the kingdom and individuals had led to daring voyages and venturesome exploration. Indeed, the efforts to obtain oversea possessions had not been urged so much by the Government as by persons interested in trading developments and quickly gotten riches. The lack of royal initiative is especially noticeable. Various

companies and small groups of zealous men opened new fields with little, if any, encouragement from the Government. In America, individuals and proprietors were responsible for many colonies, while the Empire's inception in India was the result of the activities of a trading company. It was not until the eighteenth century that the Empire became a matter of serious concern to the British Government. Then the great duel with France and the wonderful increase of colonial possessions as the result of successful wars gave the oversea dominion a much greater importance.

MERCANTILISM

The key to Britain's relation to its colonies is found in trade. During the eighteenth century the commerce of England was developing with great rapidity. In the course of the century it increased five or six fold, with the exports continually overbalancing the imports. The trade with the colonies was only a minor part of the total, that with Europe distancing the trade with Asia, Africa, and America combined. About the middle of the century the American trade was slightly more valuable than that with Asia, but only about one sixth as valuable as that with Europe. The phenomenal advance in commerce that began with the third quarter of the century will be accounted for in a later chapter. But even by 1750 there had been a marked acceleration in commerce, attended by a growing amount of regulation that it might be fostered discriminately. The regulation, such as it was, was entirely in the interests of home industry; even the development of national power and of the colonies in and for themselves was strictly subordinated to the demands of England's manufacturers and shippers.

There is abundant illustration of this attitude in Britain's relation to its great trade rivals and to its colonies. The sale of finished cloth and the opportunity for adequate markets explains the famous Methuen Treaty of 1703 with Portugal. The Portuguese market had been closed to England in the interest of home manufacture, but Methuen was able to reopen it by granting Portuguese wines, entrance into Eng-

land at two thirds the duty paid on French wines. Burgundy was replaced by port, and port could be consumed in good quantity with the virtuous feeling that English industry was profiting as a result of this pleasant reciprocal arrangement. In 1713 there was an effort on the part of friends of France to give French goods comparatively easy entrance into England. A storm of protest occurred, and public opinion prevented the injury which it was felt would come to home industry as a result of favoring France. A relaxation of the trading relations with France did not come until the close of the American Revolution.

This attitude toward commerce and industry, dominant in Europe from the very beginnings of the great colonial empires until the latter part of the eighteenth century, is usually known as the "mercantile system." It is sometimes called "Colbertism," from the restrictive over-regulation of trade in France during the time of Colbert, the minister of Louis XIV. The precious metals could only be obtained from abroad, and yet an adequate supply of money was regarded as essential, especially in the conduct of the numerous wars. The stock of money, it was believed, could only be retained and increased by a favorable balance of trade — by the selling of more than was purchased, thus bringing bullion into the country. As a consequence, imports were restricted. English saltmakers, for example, in the seventeenth century urged the prohibition of foreign salt on the ground that it was the "wisdom of a kingdom or nation to prevent the importation of any manufacture from abroad which might be a detriment to their own at home, for if the coin of a nation be carried out to pay for foreign manufactures and our own people left unemployed, then in case a war happen with our potent neighbors, the people are incapacitated to pay taxes for the support of the same."¹

Probably the most important book published during the early development of the mercantile system was by Sir Thomas Mun; this work, issued in 1664, had the significant title: *England's Treasure by Foreign Trade; or the Balance*

¹ Quoted in Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, II, 310.

of our Trade the Rule of our Treasure. Another influential work of the same period was Sir Josiah Child's *The Nature of Plantations and their Consequences to Great Britain seriously Considered*, which first appeared in 1669. Among other things the author endeavored to prove "that all Colonies or Plantations do endanger their Mother-Kingdoms, whereof the Trades of such Plantations are not confined in severe laws, and good execution of those laws to the Mother-Country." Charles D'Avenant, Inspector-General of Exports and Imports, published in 1698 a pamphlet *On the Plantation Trade*. His work and that of William Wood, *The Great Advantage of our Colonies and Plantations to Great Britain*, published in 1728, reëchoed the ideas of Sir Josiah Child.¹ An influential work of the early eighteenth century had the title: *The Trade and Navigation of Great Britain Considered shewing that the surest way for a Nation to increase the Riches is to prevent the Importation of such Foreign Commodities as may be raised at Home*.

In the correct growth of this system it was necessary that the Government interfere more and more by the use of the law for the regulation and restriction that would make mercantilism work satisfactorily. Navigation acts, commercial treaties, and import duties were numerous. Gradually this sort of supervision became so extreme as to cause a reaction toward the idea that non-interference and the action of natural law would work better for the country than the restrictive plans of Colbert and the mercantilists. The Physiocrats in France, among whom Turgot was the most prominent, urged an attitude of *laissez-faire*. In England Adam Smith published, in 1776, his *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. Its influence was tremendous in overthrowing the old system of over-regulation. Fortunately for England, it came at a time when the phenomenal industrial advance could not suffer from foreign competition. The inauguration of this system of non-interference is beyond the scope of the present chapter.

¹ The works of Sir Josiah Child, Charles D'Avenant, and William Wood were reprinted together under the title of *Select Dissertations* in the year 1775 to assist in the settlement of the "unhappy differences between Great Britain and America."

The application of restrictive measures to the colonies was but natural. Home industry was not thought to include colonial industry, and the latter was made subordinate in the effort to make English industry independent of foreign competition. To this end the colonies were to be excluded from trade with foreign states. The products of the colonies were to come to England, where they would either serve England or would go to foreign countries with the mother country as a profiting intermediary. It was even desired that England should be the emporium for the trade among the different parts of the Empire. In accordance with this theory the measure of value attained by the various colonies was in proportion, not to their internal development or size or possibilities, but only to their value for the commercial development of England.

India aroused a good deal of concern to English industrial interests during the eighteenth century. Anxiety regarding India was the result not only of the slight sale of English manufactures in India but also in consequence of the import into England of the goods that could be used in the place of the textile fabrics made at home. Indian muslins and silks were attacked on the ground that their introduction affected the price of wool and the employment of two hundred and fifty thousand people in home manufactures. In 1697 a weaver of London issued a pamphlet against the East Indian trade entitled *The Great Necessity and Advantage of Preserving our Own Manufactures*. In the same year, a weaver of the same city published *Reasons Humbly Offered for the Passing of a Bill for the Hindering of the Home Consumption of East India Silks*. Even the "Fann" makers had a grievance on account of the East Indian competition. In 1700 an Act was passed restricting the Indian trade so far as the home market was concerned, as it "must inevitably be to the great Detriment of this Kingdom by exhausting the Treasure thereof and melting down the Coine, and takeing away the Labour of the People."¹ The woollen industries of England finally succeeded in procuring the passage in 1721 of the

¹ Cunningham, *op. cit.*, II, 465.

Calico Act. By this measure Indian cotton goods could not be sold, used for upholstering furniture or worn in England. As yet Britain's cotton industry had not assumed importance.

The southern American colonies were valuable for their cotton, rice, and indigo. There was no competition with England here, and every effort was made to foster and monopolize this trade. The West Indies were even more highly valued for their products. These sugar colonies offered supplies that were much needed, and which brought them into direct competition with the French sugar colonies. Immense sums were expended in the commerce and industry of these islands. Careful measures were taken, as we shall note presently, that this money and interest should not be mistakenly applied. The West Indian islands were also of great value as the emporium of the slave-trade, and throughout the eighteenth century a thriving business in negroes was carried on, not only for the Spanish colonies, by virtue of the *Asiento*, but for the English colonies as well. Liverpool seems to have profited most by this trade, but New England ships, also, did a considerable business in slaves.¹

The colonies north of Virginia proved of less interest to England. English statesmen felt no special interest in New England, for it produced little that England did not have and was a constant menace by its possible competition. The Board of Control declared in 1732 that there were "more trades carried on and manufactures set up in the provinces on

¹ Charles D'Avenant is particularly clear as to the place of negroes in the prosperity of the West Indies: "It would much conduce to the support and prosperity of the sugar and tobacco Plantations to put the African trade into some better order. So great a part of our foreign business arising from these colonies, they ought undoubtedly to have all due Encouragement, and to be plentifully supplied and at reasonable Rates, with Negroes, to meliorate and cultivate the land. The Labour of these slaves is the principal foundation of our Riches there; upon which account we should take all proper measures to bring them on easy terms. . . . It must certainly be prudent in any trade, manufacture or business to render the first material as cheap as possible. Slaves are the first and most necessary material for planting; from whence follows that all measures should be taken that may produce such a plenty of them, as may be an Encouragement to the Industrious Planter." *Select Dissertations*, p. 55.

the continent of America to the northward of Virginia, prejudicial to the trade and manufactures of Great Britain, than in any other of the British colonies.”¹ This but restated the opinion of Sir Josiah Child. He wrote of New England, which he praised for frugality, industry, and temperance: “Although men ought to envy that virtue and wisdom in others, yet I think it is the duty of every good man primarily to respect the welfare of his native country; I cannot omit to notice the particulars wherein Old England suffers diminution by the growth of these colonies settled in New England. All our Plantations except that of New England produce commodities of different natures from those of this Kingdom, whereas New England produces generally the same.”²

The colonial woolen industry was small, but it aroused the jealousy of English manufacturers, and an attempt was made to check it by Act of Parliament in 1698. The making of hats in the American colonies came to the knowledge of the London Company of Feltmakers; thereupon, they procured an Act of Parliament in 1732 by which the export of hats from one colony to another was prohibited. The beginning of an iron industry in these colonies was looked at askance, as well. It never competed seriously with English iron, as the Americans did not make so fine a grade of material. Yet in 1750 an Act, which allowed the free importation of colonial pig-iron into England, prohibited the American manufacture beyond that stage.

In the New England colonies and Pennsylvania there was a large business in the building of ships. There were excellent facilities for this industry along the American seaboard and an abundance of raw materials to draw upon. Although the Thames shipbuilders in 1724 complained of this competition, nothing was done to prevent this industry except that the raw materials needed for the building of ships and the supplies for naval purposes were sought in the colonies. Attempts were made to reserve areas of forests for providing masts and spars, and bounties were given on spars

¹ Quoted in Greene, *Provincial America*, p. 278.

² *Select Dissertations*, p. 21.

and masts, pitch tar and hemp. In 1721 Parliament passed a law reserving for the use of the royal navy all trees fit for masts not growing on private lands in the colonies north of Pennsylvania. The interest shown in these supplies is an evidence, not only of commercial policy, but also of the growing importance of the navy.

The English attitude toward Ireland was in line with that toward the other plantations. The nearness of Ireland to England and the consequently greater danger of effective competition, if its industries developed, led to more oppressive measures here than elsewhere. Irish cloth manufacturers were prohibited from exporting their goods to other colonies, to England, or to foreign nations. At the close of the seventeenth century, bar-iron was permitted to come into England without the duty previously levied, but this manufacture, along with the exportation of timber to England for shipping purposes, brought about the serious depletion of the Irish forests. Ireland's wealth was for England's use. Because of nearness, Ireland suffered from the mercantile system, but reaped few of the advantages of distant colonies producing materials not obtainable in the mother country. The retarded development of Ireland, as compared with the self-governing dominions and the hesitancy of England to grant to Ireland institutions existing in other parts of the Empire, has found its *raison d'être* very largely in their geographical proximity.

It must also be borne in mind that, until the Organic Union of Scotland and England in 1707, Scotland was a foreign land so far as British law and administration were concerned.

NAVIGATION ACTS

The commercial code of England's old colonial policy was based on a series of navigation acts, which were designed to bring to pass the conditions described in the preceding paragraphs. Reference has already been made to the Navigation Act of 1651, directed against the Dutch shortly before the First Dutch War.¹ But the law known usually as the "First

¹ See p. 67.

Navigation Act" was passed in 1660. By it the importation of goods from Asia, Africa, or America, whether British or foreign, was confined to English or colonial vessels; goods of foreign growth, production, or manufacture, brought in English or colonial vessels to Great Britain, must come directly; and foreign vessels were forbidden to take goods of their own country to the colonies, and they were shut out from the coastwise trade. In addition, certain "enumerated" articles — sugar, tobacco, cotton-wool, indigo, ginger, fustic, and other dyeing woods — could be carried only to England.

In 1663 appeared a Second Navigation Act. By prohibiting the importation into the colonies of European commodities unless they were first landed in England, the mother country was made the staple for the colonies. Exception was made of salt for the fisheries, wines from the Azores, servants, horses, and victuals from Ireland and Scotland. The preamble admirably states the mercantile ideal: "In regard his Majesties Plantations beyond the Sea are inhabited and peopled by His Subjects of this His Kingdome of England, For the maintaining of a greater correspondence and kindnesse between them and keepeing them in a firmer dependence upon it, and rendring them yet more beneficiall and advantageous unto it in the farther Imploymment and Encrease of English Shipping and Seamen, vent of English Woollen and other Commodities . . . and makeing this Kingdom a Staple not onely of the Commodities of those Plantations but alsoe of the Commodities of other Countreyes and Places. . . . Be it enacted, etc." ¹

The Third Navigation Act of 1672 prevented the traffic in enumerated articles between one colony and another except on payment of a duty similar to that required when they were shipped to England. These three acts were in force when the Revolution of 1688 took place. But it was found that they were neither obeyed nor effectively executed. The result was another Act in 1696, which was passed to prevent frauds and regulate abuses. The oaths of royal governors were made more stringent, naval officers had to give security

¹ See Macdonald, *Select Charters*, for the text of the Navigation Acts.

for the performance of their duties, all colonial laws contrary to the navigation laws were declared null and void, and most stringent measures were taken to suppress Scotch and other alien traders.

Enumerated articles were added from time to time. In 1705 rice and molasses were put on the list. Naval stores were added shortly after, and copper and furs in 1722. When the authorities found New Englanders buying sugar and molasses more cheaply from the French and Dutch West Indies than from their sister colonies in the Caribbean, the British sugar islands petitioned Parliament for relief. In 1733 the so-called "Molasses Act" was passed, placing prohibitive duties on foreign sugar, molasses, and rum imported into the British colonies.

These acts were the chief of some half a hundred passed during this period to "encourage trade." They were supposedly in force during the eighteenth century, but there was a systematic violation of them and a large measure of illicit commerce. For example, the Scotch did a thriving business with the colonies before 1707. The distinctions between trader and smuggler and pirate were poorly defined. In addition, the navy of England was not yet adequate to enforce its maritime regulations; zealous officials like Edward Randolph and Robert Quarry found no end of evasion, and experienced great difficulty in enforcing even partially the regulations committed to their care. Randolph made a report in 1697, in which he cites fifteen vessels loaded with tobacco for England that did not land their goods there, twenty-two vessels trading with Scotland, and a Dutch vessel and a Norwegian carrier doing a colonial business. A large trade was carried on with the Canary Islands, with France by way of the Newfoundland fisheries, and with Holland through the Dutch colony of Surinam. At the close of the Seven Years' War, renewed colonial interest led to an attempt to enforce these acts and others that would bind the colonies closer to England.

COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION

The emphasis that has been placed on commerce and industry in the old colonial system should not exclude from consideration the political relations borne by the colonies to the homeland. The lack of a real colonial policy is evident when the administrative side is considered, for no system of government was considered that did not have a commercial aspect.

From the Restoration of 1660 to the Seven Years' War, there was marked progress in England in the development of its institutional life. During the years following the departure of James II, the legislative side of the Government subordinated the Crown more and more. The development of the cabinet system at this time and its dependence upon the majority party in Parliament kept harmony in the home Government. In the colonies the ideals that found expression in the struggles against the early Stuarts were treasured as guides for their political growth. Beyond the sea, however, there was no such growing harmony between the executive and the legislative as there was in England. This difference in development was probably inevitable, as England was not prepared to allow a movement parallel to that at home to go on in the colonies, even though the inhabitants of the oversea possessions were regarded as having, in theory, the same kind of rights as Englishmen at home. If the colonial governors had been subordinated to the local legislatures, it would have meant "responsible government," a privilege won by the great colonies of the Empire during the middle of the nineteenth century. The privileges that Englishmen had acquired by the Bill of Rights were not regarded as extending to the colonies.

Early English colonial policy had been very easy-going; the government of new colonies was left to individuals or corporations acting under royal charters or by simple permission of the Crown. Before the accession of James II, Virginia and New Hampshire were the only royal provinces on the American continent, although at this time there were

twelve distinct colonial governments on the American mainland within the boundaries of the later revolting colonies.¹ James II, during his short reign, made great efforts to extend his absolutist ideas to other colonies. In 1684, on the eve of James' accession, Massachusetts had lost its charter on account of flagrant violations of the Navigation Laws. Taking advantage of this change of government, the King appointed Edmund Andros Governor of the Dominion of New England, which was intended to include all the territory north of Pennsylvania. But the Revolution of 1688 put an end to James' government in America as well as in England. Thereafter matters went on without great change from the conditions before the interference of James, save that Massachusetts was given a new charter — less liberal than its predecessor — and New York was made a royal province.

Up to 1689 there had been almost no parliamentary control and but little Crown interference in colonial government. William III, however, was advised to bring the colonies into greater dependence upon the Crown. It was an excellent opportunity to put in order colonial affairs, but the newly chosen King was too busily engaged in European matters to do anything constructive. As a result of the military character of his reign, military powers were given the governors of some colonies. The Governor of New York was entrusted with the command of the Connecticut military forces; Rhode Island was subjected in like manner to the royal representative in Massachusetts. To the three royal provinces of Virginia, New York, and New Hampshire there were added, by 1760, New Jersey, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Nova Scotia.

As time went on, the ruling of the colonies took more and more of the time of the executive at home. The Privy Council and especially the secretaries of state gave part of their attention to oversea matters. In 1696 the King authorized the organization of the Board of Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, known commonly as the "Board of Trade." The duties of this famous committee were many;

¹ The royal province of Nova Scotia had not yet been acquired.

trade conditions and improvement, the furthering of manufactures, trade in the plantations and its development, and the oversight of colonial government were some of the matters that came to their attention. The greater part of their time was taken up with the affairs of the American colonies, including, of course, the West Indies. The Board was not powerful, however, as it served as little more than an investigating and advisory committee, with powers of nomination and remonstrance. During its early years it exercised a fairly large measure of influence, but its power continually declined and whatever consistent policy it advocated received no adequate support. Long before its abolition at the close of the American Revolution, it had ceased to be effective. In 1784 a committee of the Privy Council on "all matters pertaining to trade and foreign plantations" was established; two years later, a new committee was formed in its place. These committees served much the same purpose as the former Board of Trade.

The Privy Council, the secretaries of state and the Board of Trade were not the only executive bodies that had to do with the colonies. The Treasury Department with its auditor-general of plantation revenues, the commissioners of customs, the registrar of emigrants to the plantations, and the Post-Office, as well as the paymaster-general of the forces, the Admiralty, and the War Office, were concerned in colonial affairs. Both the House of Lords and the House of Commons could make formal inquiries and recommendations. In addition, there was considerable supervision of colonial laws by the use of the royal disallowance and by act of Parliament. For example, in 1754, George II disallowed eight acts of North Carolina. During the period from 1689 to 1763, this medley of administrative machinery did not work to the serious inconvenience of the colonies, because of the inefficiency and laxity of the various engineers that had to do with the composite and complicated mechanism. Even government at home was neglected by the pursuance of easy courses and the prevalence of corruption, and the colonies were subject to the same conditions.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF INDIA

The problems that arose in the administration of Bengal were quite distinct from those growing out of the relation of the American colonies to the mother country. India was not a colony, but a complicated group of native states, with which relations were had through a trading company. The chief political task of England in India was the regulation and restraint of the great East India Company, as it laid territorial bases for its business success. In the seventeenth century the Company faced a great deal of opposition. This distant trade was declared to be injurious to England's maritime interests, for it took to distant seas shipping that should be nearer home. Much opposition was aroused by the necessarily large exportation of bullion for use in eastern trade, as there was no great demand for English goods in the East. The mercantilist theory of the balance of trade and the control of the money supply came into seeming opposition with this aspect of English commercial life. Besides, those who wanted to carry on business ventures in the East and were not in the Company naturally disliked and fought a monopoly that hindered their desires. These "interlopers" furnished much trouble.

When William became King, the East India Company hoped to have its privileges put into more permanent shape by act of Parliament. It received in 1693 two additional charters, by which its monopoly was continued for twenty-one years, but no act of Parliament made its position secure. The feeling of the House of Commons was so hostile that they permitted the formation of a new or General Company in addition to the older organization known as the "London Company." The conflict of these two trading concerns became so bitter that they were united in 1708 with privileges of exclusive trade until 1733. As 1733 approached, the agitation was renewed, but the Company, by liberal gifts and later by loans to the Government during the War of the Austrian Succession, obtained an extension of its privileges until 1780. Before that time arrived, however, further changes took place.¹

¹ See pp. 181 ff.

The phenomenal success of British arms in India has been related. The Company's servants found boundless opportunities for enriching themselves as well as their employers, and their actions led to much criticism of the Company. As the result of an inquiry in 1768, its administration was found to be very corrupt. Thereupon an Act was passed defining the financial obligations of the Company to the Government. Five years later (1773), Lord North's Regulating Act brought about an extensive reorganization of the finances of the Company as well as of the Government of India. A supreme court was established, the Governor of Bengal was made Governor-General, and was assisted by a council of four members appointed by Parliament.

As the Company's affairs continued in a condition of serious difficulty, further measures were taken in the next decade for strengthening the public control. There was a parliamentary inquiry in 1781. Charles James Fox introduced an India Bill in 1783, which was intended to bring about a thorough reorganization. He proposed to give the government of India into the hands of seven commissioners appointed by Parliament, who were to hold office for four years and then be succeeded by appointees of the Crown. They were to be trustees of the Company's property, which was to be administered for them by a subordinate council of directors. Extensive administrative reforms were also included, which were aimed at ending the corruption that had caused so much criticism. Despite its excellencies, the Bill was defeated, for it was regarded as a party measure and was sharply criticized by those who wished the patronage to be in the King's hands rather than with Fox and his friends, if but for a time.

In the next year the younger Pitt succeeded where Fox had failed. A board of control appointed by the King henceforth supervised the civil and military administration. The Company retained most of the patronage and the appointment of the Governor-General, the Presidents, and Councils in India, appointments that were subject to the approval of the King, who also had the power of removal. The dual system of control brought about by this Bill remained the form

of government until the final change took place in 1858. The compromising character of this measure was the chief reason for its success; it also illustrates the halting progress toward a unified system of colonial control.

If this review of the old colonial system reveals no consistent British policy, we must not be too eager to condemn the Government. The Empire was vast, and was distributed over distant parts of the globe. India, the West Indies, Newfoundland, Africa, Hudson Bay, and North America furnished no unified group of problems. Ireland, too, must be thought of as a part of the colonial Empire of this time, and its treatment is to be included under colonial policy. In addition, the problems were comparatively new, for Great Britain had no worthy precedents to follow. The old Roman Empire, the later German one of the Middle Ages, those of Venice and Spain, were not guides to an intelligent, modern colonial administration. The distance between the mother country and the colonies and between the colonies themselves was much greater than it is in our day. The best that could be done was to treat the colonies from the commercial point of view with the interests of the mother country primary, and to handle each colonial difficulty as it arose, in terms largely economic and financial. The revolt of the American colonies in 1775 was the logical result of the old colonial system.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE REVOLT OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES

THE conclusion of the Seven Years' War brought British expansion to a grand climax. The jubilation was natural. Among the evidences of pride was the record kept of world-affairs in the *Annual Register* established by Dodsley in 1759, and for which Edmund Burke was engaged to write the political accounts from year to year. It evidently served a growing interest. Ordinarily the various chapters dealt principally with the continental states. The volume for 1775 is unique in the prominence given to colonial matters; one hundred and forty pages are devoted to the troubles in America, and only one chapter, the last, reviewed European matters of importance.

The opening paragraph of this volume states the cause for the dark times that had succeeded the glorious exploits of the Seven Years' War. "It happens most unfortunately this year, that our own public affairs take the lead of those of Europe, and have in a great degree absorbed all the matters of political speculation. . . . The great disturbers of mankind contemplate the new and unthought of spectacle we exhibit to the world, and perhaps eagerly predict the advantages which they may derive from its fatal consequences. It need scarcely be mentioned that the unhappy contest in which we are involved with our colonies is the event which has thus excited the attention of mankind. Those colonies, which were so long our strength and glory, whose rapid growth and astonishing increase mocked the calculations of politicians and outstripped the speculations of philosophers; those colonies, which equally excited the apprehension of our enemies and the envy of our friends, still attract the eyes of the world to them and to us, as a common center. . . . It is no longer our task to describe devastation in Poland or slaughter on the Danube. The evil is at home."¹

¹ *Annual Register*, 1775, Preface, and p. 2.

It seems indeed strange that one of the brightest periods in the history of the Empire should be followed so soon by such a disastrous occurrence as the loss of the American colonies. It was much more of a calamity than it may seem to the modern observer looking back one hundred and fifty years. The thirteen colonies were the fairest portions of the Old Empire. They included by 1770 a population of nearly two millions of people. Although some of the American continental colonies were not the most valuable feeders of the mother country commercially, their large population consumed over two million pounds' worth of exports annually at the close of the Seven Years' War; this was twice the amount used by the West Indian colonies. New Brunswick and Nova Scotia were as yet practically undeveloped, and Canada did not seem to have in it the possibilities of the Canada of to-day. As a matter of fact, there was considerable discussion in 1763 as to whether England should take from the French their possessions on the American mainland or the island of Guadeloupe. The loss of the American colonies seemed the beginning of the end of a great colonial empire.

Prophecies had not been wanting that such an occurrence would take place. Montesquieu, in 1730, had written that England would be the first nation to lose its colonies as a result of the laws of trade and navigation. A little later D'Argenson had uttered a similar prediction, and that of Turgot is well known. He likened colonies to fruit that remained on the parent stem only until it was ripe; Turgot declared that America, in like fashion, would some time separate from the British parent.

When Canada was added to the British dominions, prophecy regarding the American colonies became more concrete. In 1761 the Duke of Bedford had written to Newcastle: "I don't know whether the neighbourhood of the French to our American colonies was not the greatest security for their dependence on the mother country." ¹ Kalm, the Swedish botanist who traveled in the colonies in 1748, in his *Travels into North America* declared that the pressure of the French in

¹ Quoted in Channing, II, 596.

Canada was all that held the colonies in submission. William Burke, a kinsman of the famous statesman, in a pamphlet in 1760, felt that there was serious danger for English control if French pressure were removed; for the colonists were "numerous, hardy and independent, communicating little or not at all with England." The French statesman, Choiseul, is reported to have expressed surprise that Pitt intended to take Canada as the price of peace in 1763 since the English colonies would not fail to shake off their dependence the moment Canada should be ceded.

This fact seemed equally cogent when the Revolution had actually begun. In 1776 Turgot published a *Mémoire* on the attitude France and Spain should take toward England's colonial trouble. In referring to a suggestion that Canada should be retaken, he wrote: "It is a great advantage to us that England possesses Canada to-day for the Americans no longer see behind them enemies that can cause them uneasiness as they look toward probable independence."¹ The famous Dean of Gloucester, Josiah Tucker, published *Four Tracts* in 1776. He diagnoses the cause for the existing troubles as follows: "It was not the Stamp Act which increased or heightened these ill humours in the colonies; it was rather the reduction of Canada. . . . From the moment in which Canada came into the possession of England, an end was put to the sovereignty of the mother country over her colonies."² It is certain that the idea was widespread in both Great Britain and France that colonial rebellion in America bore a direct relation to the acquisition of Canada by the English.

CAUSES FOR REBELLION

Such a serious rupture of the Empire cannot be based solely on so simple an external cause. Many conditions existed that were probably more responsible for this revolt and the break-up of the old colonial system. One important factor

¹ *Œuvres* (Paris, 1844), II, 555.

² *Four Tracts on Political and Commercial Subjects* (3d ed., Gloucester, 1776), pp. 160, 161.

was the nature of the navigation and trade laws. The attitude of the British Government toward its dependencies was dominated by the commercial ideals sketched in the preceding chapter. Although these laws were not at all times enforced, the commercial attitude is well expressed by them, and they were constantly at hand as a disturber of the possible good relations between the mother country and its colonies.

Serious objection to this attitude of Great Britain toward its possessions would have been pronounced before the close of the Seven Years' War had the laws been rigidly enforced. But they were not. Smuggling had become as widespread and respectable in the colonies as it was at this time on the coasts of England itself. It was either connived at or the officials were helpless to prevent the practice. Indeed, it is estimated that during the sixty years before the Revolution began, Great Britain paid out, in order to uphold its commercial system, a sum exceeding the value of the whole real and personal property of the colonies. About 1755, an attempt was made to improve the situation by the use of writs of assistance, which authorized customs officers to use every facility in their search for contraband goods.

The inconveniences of the colonial system worked hardship not only on the colonial merchant; it caused irritation to the large group of consumers as well. When the Seven Years' War began, the situation became more complicated than ever. The illicit trade then became treasonable, since much of it was with the French West Indies. French colonies received supplies from the British colonies. The British navy was greatly hampered in prosecuting the war as a result of this trade. At the close of the struggle, it was not surprising that Great Britain should expect the colonies to share to some extent the expense of their own defense, especially as they had garnered wealth during the conflict by what seemed unpatriotic means. As a result, a more rigid policy of law enforcement ensued. The proposed taxation was not intended for the support of the home government but only to pay in part for the upkeep of an army stationed in America

for the defense of the colonies. With this new policy the Revolution really began.

It was not so much economic restriction as a feeling of industrial and commercial independence that led to the growing dissatisfaction. The effects of the British commercial system have often been overestimated, as the causes for the discontent have been sought. The grievances suffered by the colonies in connection with trade were not so very serious, and Englishmen were frequently at a loss to explain the immense furore aroused. The truth is that the colonies by that time had grown away from the mother country to such an extent that they were not willing to recognize even moderate restrictions. The very evasion of the laws of trade by smuggling had developed this independence. When the war with France came, they felt no particular compunction in continuing their commercial enterprises along the usual lines.

The independent spirit, expressed in this reaction to the stricter colonial policy of the years following the Peace of Paris, is to be explained, therefore, by the causes that brought about a sturdy, self-centered, and independent type of colonial. Life on the frontier has always bred men of strong and pronounced individuality. Struggles with the Indians and a stubborn soil served as teachers of self-reliance. The severe and strenuous conditions of colonial life must always be borne in mind in appraising their apparent thoughtlessness of the mother country. The very physical remoteness of colonies three thousand miles away had a powerful liberalizing effect.

The results of physical remoteness and frontier life were even more significantly expressed in the constitutional development of the colonies. New England showed its individuality in an early attainment of practical self-government. It will be recalled¹ that the Company which received the charter of 1629 removed to America and became the colony. In Massachusetts Bay and its offshoots, Rhode Island and Connecticut, and in its neighbor, Plymouth, democracy received a remarkable expression in the town meeting and the

¹ See p. 43.

congregational system. In Virginia a House of Burgesses had been authorized in 1619, and during the period of the Commonwealth this colony enjoyed the privileges of practical self-government. In other colonies varying degrees of the representative system were reached, so that their own self-constituted life had a fair expression. This resulted in an unconscious estrangement from the mother country. Freedom of institutional life was to a great extent the result of extremely liberal charters given to foster settlement. In every case the colonies that revolted were indebted to private individuals or companies for their formation, and not to the home Government. Although most of the settlements had become royal colonies by the time of the Revolution, their past and their practice tended to make the colonists feel that the rights of Englishmen had been brought with them across the sea. The revolt against Charles I had left its deep impress in America, an impress so strong that Patrick Henry's appeal to it as a precedent in their relations to George III was more than a rhetorical flourish.

The men and women who came to America were not, as a rule, prosperous and conservative. Often they were not members of the respected classes. Large numbers emigrated because of religious dissatisfaction or radicalism in political beliefs. If there was much unrest in the England of the seventeenth century, there was bound to be more in the colonies that were established at that time. The inherent rights of Englishmen which were fought for in the struggles with the Stuarts were carried to the world of the West, where a congenial atmosphere free from the restraining effects of an older civilization caused those ideas to find a full expression. Tendencies toward self-government and democratic ideas were simply inevitable.

Added to this sense of political remoteness and freedom was a growing consciousness of strength resulting from successful colonial wars and the passing of the French menace. In addition, there was an increasing feeling of kinship in the colonies during the eighteenth century. Isolation was slowly broken down by the movements of population from one

group to another or westward to establish another frontier. As early as 1643 the New England colonies had banded together against Indians and Dutch and French. James II made an ill-starred attempt to form all the territory north of Pennsylvania into one Dominion of New England under a single governor. A little later, in 1690, an intercolonial congress had been held at New York following the suggestion of Massachusetts in view of the imminent military dangers. The numerous wars of the eighteenth century aided much in fostering this feeling. Finally, in 1754, as the Seven Years' War was about to open, a congress was held at Albany, in which all the colonies except the Carolinas, Georgia, Virginia, and New Jersey, were represented. The plan of union projected there did not come into operation, but, in spite of its failure, it showed that there was a widespread desire for a "general union of strength and interest." By 1760 the colonies were conscious of their power and of their common interests.

It was surely unfortunate, from the British point of view, with such forces as these in operation, that the British Government should not have been manned with the very best sort of leadership. George III, who succeeded to the throne in 1760, "gloried in the name of Briton." This feeling, however, was in him more a fault than a virtue, from the point of view of constitutional development, as he made a stubborn effort to revive royal influence in order to be more of a king. He was a "consummate politician in the worst sense,"¹ rejecting good leadership in Parliament that he might consolidate his personal power.

THE APPROACH OF WAR

It was under such auspices that a "tightening" policy was inaugurated at the close of the Seven Years' War. This conflict had been expensive, the debt having almost doubled, and the expenditures having risen to three times their normal size within eight years. Colonial evasion of English trading regulations, continuing during the time of the war,

¹ John Morley, *On Politics and History*, p. 190.

had aroused the wrath of the British Government. Writs of assistance were issued under the name of George III in 1761 to help the collectors put the laws of trade into execution. This action aroused much opposition in Boston, where James Otis in that year eloquently stated colonial ideas in speaking against the issuance of these writs. In fact, Great Britain had to do something, as the colonial customs were producing less than two thousand pounds a year, hardly a fourth part of the cost of collection. In addition to the writs of assistance, the mother country sought a remedy for the situation by compelling customs officials to do their work in America and not by means of deputies. Colonial governors were commanded to be more diligent and naval vessels were empowered to seize ships doing an unlawful trade.

In April, 1764, a new revenue law, known usually as the "Sugar Act," came into force. Its purpose is stated in the opening paragraphs of the act; it was to renew the Molasses Act of 1733,¹ to "defray the expenses of defending, protecting and securing the said colonies and plantations," to disallow drawbacks on exports from England and to prevent the "clandestine conveyance of goods to and from the said colonies and plantations," and to secure and improve the trade between "the same and Great Britain." Careful provisions were made for enforcing the law, and the penalties for disobedience were extremely severe.

In spite of outspoken opposition to this measure by the colonists, a further step was taken in the following year by the passage of a Stamp Act toward "further defraying the expenses of defending, protecting and securing the same." Its one hundred and seventeen paragraphs covered every conceivable form in which a stamp duty might be obtained, from ships' papers to playing-cards and dice. What made it more disagreeable was the injunction that the money collected was to be paid directly into the British exchequer.

Still greater opposition followed this measure. Various colonial assemblies passed resolutions. Riots occurred. Stamp masters had to resign. Nine colonies joined in a

¹ See p. 107.

Stamp Act Congress at New York, which drew up a petition to the King and a memorial to Parliament. When the day for enforcing the Act came, neither stamp masters nor stamps were to be found. William Pitt rejoiced that America had resisted, and he advised that no money be taken without colonial assent, at the same time recommending measures that would evidence Britain's authority across the seas. Pitt's suggestion was followed in 1766; a Declaratory Act was passed and the Stamp Act was repealed in the face of determined opposition in the House of Lords. The Declaratory Act stated that the colonies "have been, are and of right ought to be, subordinate unto, and dependent upon the imperial crown and parliament of Great Britain." Full power of making laws for the colonies was affirmed and the denial of this right by colonial assemblies was declared "utterly null and void." In fact, political developments in the American colonies had already gone so far that it is difficult to conceive that a compromise could have been reached even as early as 1766.

Another source of dissatisfaction was the Quartering Act passed in 1765, which again aroused the opposition of Massachusetts and New York. The New York Assembly did not fully comply with the requirements of the Quartering Act and the colony's charter was suspended as a punishment. Added to this grievance was a renewal of measures for procuring revenue. Townshend, who, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, was uncontrolled in 1766 on account of the illness of Pitt, proposed plans for enforcing the existing laws and providing revenue. Three Acts were passed in the next year, one for establishing customs commissioners, a second for providing revenue by the collection of import duties, and a third to encourage the "consumption of teas legally imported within this kingdom and increasing the exportation of teas to his Majesty's plantations in America which are now chiefly furnished by foreigners in a course of illicit trade."

Further riot and rebellion resulted. Non-importation agreements spread through the various colonies. The Massachusetts General Court — that is, the legislature — sent a

circular letter to all the colonies urging some common measure of redress. Thereupon, the Governor dissolved the legislative body, and troops were sent to Boston to assist in the enforcement of the law. As a result of the tense feeling, a riot occurred in Boston in 1770, in which some citizens were killed. Matters became so serious that Lord North, who had become Prime Minister in 1770, removed all the duties except that on tea. In spite of concessions, committees of correspondence were vigilant in keeping colonial feeling and coöperation at a high pitch; it was no longer the particular duties that offended, but the principle that was being established. In 1773 the tea that came to Boston — it was being exported under permission granted to the East India Company by Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773 — was pitched into the harbor. At Philadelphia and New York the tea was not allowed off the vessels and at Charleston it was placed in damp cellars to rot.

Parliament's indignation was great. In 1774 four statutes were passed to meet the situation that was now seen to be serious indeed. March 31, 1774, the port of Boston was closed by an Act that passed both Houses of Parliament without a division. A second measure revoked in part the Massachusetts charter, while a third provided for a careful administration of justice by changing the place of trial from Massachusetts, if necessary, as a result of the "present disordered state of that province." A more complete Quartering Act was made law, which amounted to a temporary military government for the province. The Quebec Act, passed at the same time, reorganized the government of this recently acquired possession. Although the measure did not directly affect the thirteen colonies, it was obnoxious to the northern colonies, since Quebec was considered to extend south to the Ohio and west to the Mississippi.¹

The American colonies replied by calling a meeting of a Continental Congress that sat at Philadelphia in September of 1774. Growing unification of feeling was evident. When a Second Continental Congress met in 1775, definite prepara-

¹ See pp. 214-17 for a full treatment of this notable act.

tions were made for war. A month before it met, the British troops in Boston had fought with the colonists at Lexington and Concord. With these skirmishes, war began. Washington was made Commander-in-Chief and repaired to Massachusetts to take charge of the force gathered to withstand the British troops quartered in Boston.

THE WAR

It is unnecessary to enter into detail regarding the conflict that was concluded by the Treaty of Versailles in 1783. The leadership of the British was irresolute and often half-hearted. Washington, a host in himself, was assisted by men drawn to the cause of those seemingly struggling for liberty against oppression. Alexander Hamilton from the island of Nevis became an enthusiastic aide of Washington, while Lafayette and De Kalb from France, Steuben from Germany, and Kosciuszko from Poland came to give assistance to the revolting colonists. The British forces were, in general, confined to the important cities. Boston, New York, and Philadelphia were occupied during periods of the war, but the country as a whole remained unconquered.

In 1777 the Revolution entered on a new stage. General Burgoyne led an expedition from Canada into the State of New York, hoping to cut the communications of the New Englanders with the south. He was decisively defeated, however, at Saratoga. The French had long hesitated as to what they should do in view of the colonial troubles of their rivals, but this evidence of American power led them to side with the revolting colonists. With this development the conflict took on a larger importance; it became one more of the series of Franco-British wars that had begun in 1689. It was not long before Spain and Holland joined the enemies of Britain, and, to make matters worse still, Prussia, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark in 1780 entered into an agreement known as the "Armed Neutrality." Britain's problem was no longer the chastisement of unruly colonies; the Revolution had broadened into a world-war.

The conflict on the mainland of America continued to be,

on the whole, indecisive. Operations in the south by Cornwallis were partially successful until Washington's most efficient assistant, General Greene, masterfully confined the British to the coast towns. Cornwallis took a position in Yorktown, Virginia, near the mouth of the James River in the year 1781, where he was promptly besieged by Washington and Lafayette. The French fleet under Comte de Grasse was fortunately at hand to coöperate in the military movements against Cornwallis. On the 19th of October, 1781, he surrendered. The American cause had been won.

In other parts of the world Britain's embarrassments were acute. The weakness of the British in America is accounted for to a considerable degree by the enlarged area of the war after 1777. Yet Washington doubted whether Yorktown had ended the struggle. He placed his forces in the most advantageous positions for defense and awaited the return of the French fleet under De Grasse, without whose assistance he admitted the patriot party was helpless. In November, 1781, the French captured the West Indian island of St. Eustatius, so valuable as a free trading-center. To make matters worse for the British, Admiral Kempenfelt was unable to intercept the fleet bringing supplies to De Grasse. A further disaster was the loss in February, 1782, of Minorca to the French and Spanish. In the same month a more serious misfortune came with the capture of the West Indian island of St. Christopher by the French. The trend of events was unmistakable; the most precious of the British possessions, the sugar islands, seemed to be slipping from British hands. The Whigs, taking advantage of the military and naval situation, gave notice that they would offer a resolution of want of confidence in the ministry. Lord North, rather than face this, resigned.

The naval superiority remained for a while longer with Britain's enemies. Montserrat and Nevis were captured by the French shortly after the fall of St. Christopher, leaving but three islands in the West Indies in the possession of the British. A great colonial empire was disappearing. Fear

was felt for India, as the Far East would doubtless be the next place of attack after the command of the Atlantic was wrested from Britain. This untoward succession of events was concluded when Admiral Rodney in April met the fleet of De Grasse between the islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique as the French were on their way to join a Spanish fleet at Hispaniola. In the greatest naval battle of the time, De Grasse was decisively defeated, surrendering his flagship when he and another were the only ones left standing upon the upper deck. It was the salvation of British sea-power and of the British colonial Empire. The naval supremacy, held by the French long enough to enable the Americans to capture Yorktown and win the Revolution, was soon regained by the British, and has been held by them ever since.

The treaty was finally arranged in 1783. By it independence was obtained for the thirteen colonies with the territory of the United States extending westward to the Mississippi and northward to the Great Lakes. The Mississippi was to be open to the navigation of both countries. Britain granted fishing rights near Newfoundland to the Americans, and gave the French additional privileges in these waters. In the West Indies, France obtained Tobago from Great Britain, but returned the other islands captured in the war. In Africa, the French received Senegal and Gorée, and in India they were given back their trading-posts. Spain obtained Minorca and Florida; Gibraltar, which the Spanish had made great efforts to capture, remained with the British.

The effect of the loss of the British colonies was momentous. The effort of George III to revive the royal prerogative was definitely checked. As this conflict was the first successful revolt of a colony against the mother country, it spread the feeling, so well expressed by Turgot, that the fruit when ripe would drop from the tree. Franklin's boast that "he would furnish Mr. Gibbon with materials for writing the History of the Decline of the British Empire" seemed more than a partisan's fling.¹ The loss of the American colonies marked the low point in the development of the Empire

¹ Sir C. P. Lucas, *A History of Canada*, p. 204.

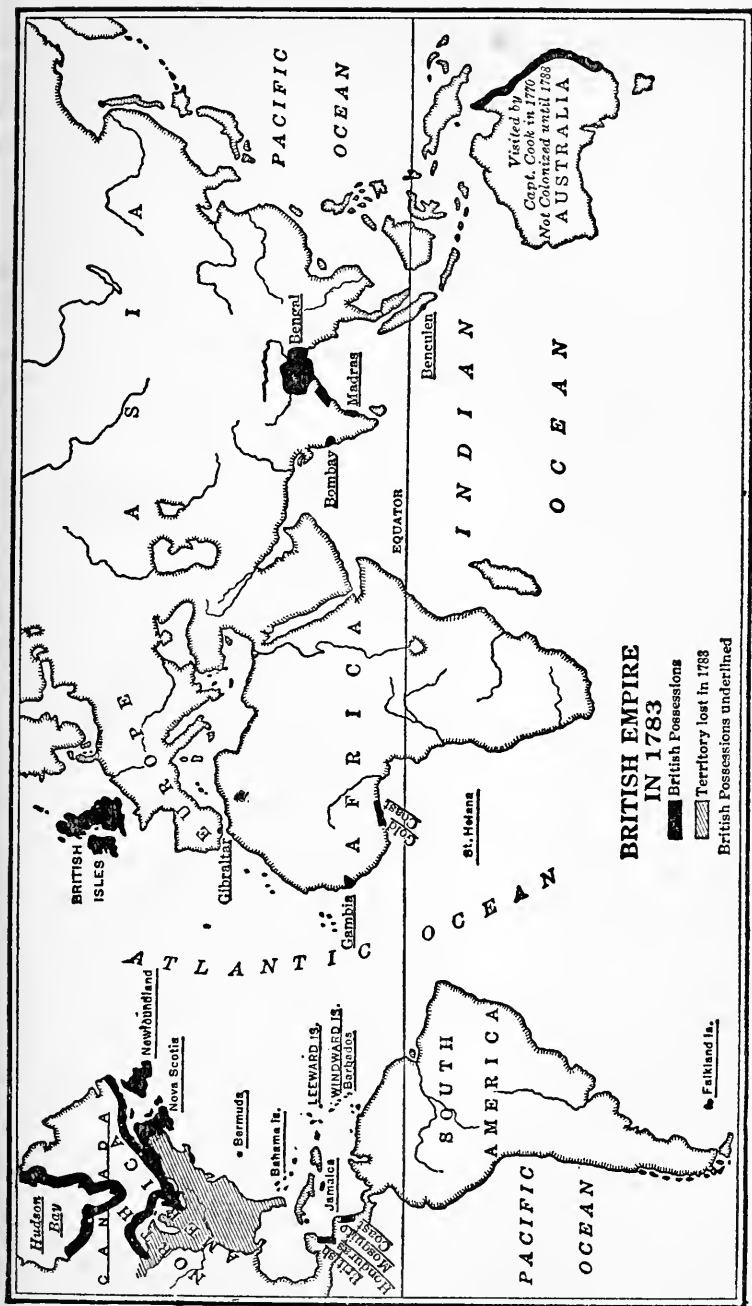
when the old colonial system was discredited and the new had not yet come.

The causes of the revolt so emphasized the evils of mercantilism that saner ideals in the treatment of colonies were to arise. It shifted British imperial interests to the Far East, where India became of increasing importance. Not improbably it led to the opening of new territories such as Australia and New Zealand; if the American colonies had been retained, a sufficient outlet for British energy and the surplus criminal population might still have been found in the West.

The attitude of Great Britain in the nineteenth century, by which the severity of colonial control was gradually relaxed until the great dominions became practically self-governing, is the result of a more intelligent treatment of colonies than we find in the old colonial Empire. It cannot be traced to the American Revolution as an immediate result, but was only to come with the lapse of time, and the demand of dominions that had become "ripe," but were not inclined to leave the parent stem. A more immediate effect is to be found in the treatment of Ireland, a plantation more nearly analogous to the American colonies than any others held by England at that time. In 1780, Ireland was granted free trade. Two years later, Henry Grattan and his followers demanded that Ireland be granted legislative independence. The Government yielded by an unconditional repeal of the law of the reign of Henry VII, by which Irish bills could be revised by the English Privy Council, and by the withdrawal of the right of the Parliament in England to legislate for Ireland, an Act that had been on the statute book since the reign of George I.¹

The freedom of the thirteen colonies erected an England outside of England's control, and thus increased the influence

¹ This condition of affairs existed for eighteen years. Yet it did not mean "home rule" in the full sense, for the Catholic majority in Ireland could neither vote nor enter Parliament. The Catholics were enfranchised in 1793. The turmoil of that decade — the French Revolution had aroused a desire for political independence — brought the end of legislative independence by the Act of Union in 1800. Henceforth, for more than a century Ireland was represented in the Parliament meeting in London. Catholics won the privilege of sitting in Parliament in 1829.



of English ideals in world-affairs. As the United States has come to manhood, the power of British conceptions of law and freedom and international justice has been doubled. Therefore, the success of the American Revolution was by no means a calamity, even to the British Empire.

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CHAPTER IX

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

THE American Revolution was regarded as a calamity to Great Britain, resulting as it did in the loss of its best-developed colonies. As we have found, this calamity was, in part, the result of the monopolistic commercial system that had been in vogue for one hundred years. In consequence, the whole colonial and commercial system was, for a time, discredited. Especially did it seem a waste of time and money and men to fight for the retention of colonies that were maturing, and therefore preparing to leave the parent that had nourished them.

MERCANTILISM ATTACKED

Yet, even before 1783, there were Englishmen holding an anti-imperial point of view. One of the most interesting advocates of this opinion was Josiah Tucker, Dean of Gloucester. He seems to have been more interested in trade than in religion; his bishop complained that he made a trade of his religion and a religion of his trade. In 1763, he published a tract against "going to war for the sake of trade." At the opening of the American Revolution, he wrote a number of tracts advocating a voluntary acquiescence in the colonial desire to be independent. In the year 1781, as the war was coming to a close, Tucker published a work, in the form of a letter to M. Necker, arguing that the conflict was a mistake for all the nations concerned. He contended that the voluntary rejection of empire on Britain's part would be the best course to adopt, and that the British should trust solely to the cheapness and goodness of manufactures, and the strength of their capital. As for military matters, he felt that England should prepare simply for home defense.¹

¹ The title of the appeal was *Cui Bono? or an Inquiry, what benefits can arise either to the English or the Americans, the French, Spaniards or Dutch, from the greatest victories or successes in the present War* (Gloucester, 1781). The pam-

A much more powerful opponent of the old colonial system and of the entire point of view resulting in the discrimination against trade rivals was Adam Smith. It was in 1776 — the year of the appearance of the Declaration of Independence — that he published his *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. This great work helped materially to change the commercial attitude of the British nation from a strict mercantilism to a belief in freedom of trade. The fourth book of this inquiry is principally devoted to an elaborate attack on the commercial system. Here Adam Smith revealed the unreasonable character of the various restraints of trade, the false channels into which it had been turned by artificial stimuli to the upsetting of the freedom of commercial intercourse upon which the relations of nations should be based. He held that "all the European colonies have, without exception, been a cause rather of weakness than of strength to their respective mother countries."¹ This was owing to the fact that the commercial system, by its emphasis on exclusive trade between the colonies and the homeland, tended to render the colonies less abundant in surplus produce than they otherwise would be.

He further attacked the idea, prevalent at the time, that a great empire should be founded "for the sole purpose of raising up a people of customers." This project he felt to be altogether unfit even for a nation of shopkeepers. To this false conception Adam Smith laid the blame for the expensive wars that Great Britain had been waging and the one it was entering on in 1776. "The latest war [the Seven Years' War] was altogether a colony trouble, and the whole expense of it in whatever part of the world it may have been laid out,

phlet was in the press as the news of Yorktown was received in England. Tucker's postscript is characteristic: "This moment an account has arrived that the brave Cornwallis with his little army has been obliged to submit to the united forces of superior numbers. I am at a loss what to say upon this occasion — to congratulate my country on being defeated is contrary to that decency which is due to the public. And yet if this defeat should terminate in a total separation from America, it would be one of the happiest events that has ever happened to Great Britain."

¹ *The Wealth of Nations* (New York, 1878), p. 460.

whether in Germany or the East Indies, ought justly to be stated on the account of the colonies. . . . The Spanish War, which began in 1739, was principally a colony quarrel. . . . Its pretended purpose was to encourage the manufactures and to increase the commerce of Great Britain. But its real effect has been to raise the rate of mercantile profit." His conclusion was: "Great Britain derives nothing but loss from the dominion which she has assumed over her colonies." ¹

Adam Smith did not go to the extreme position of Dean Tucker, however, and advocate that Great Britain voluntarily give up all its authority over its colonies. "The most visionary enthusiast would scarce be capable of proposing such a measure with any serious hope at least of its ever being adopted. If it was adopted, however, Great Britain would not only be freed from the whole annual expense of the peace establishment of the colonies, but might settle with them such a treaty of commerce as would effectually secure to her a free trade, more advantageous to the great body of this people, though less so to the merchants than the monopoly which she at present enjoys." ² He does go to the point of advocating the relaxing of the laws of trade, not only with the colonies, but with other nations as well.

The author of this remarkable work has many hard things to say of the "mean rapacity, the monopolizing spirit of merchants and manufacturers." "In every country it must be and always is the interest of the great body of the people to buy whatever they want of those who sell it cheapest." From this point of view a neighboring nation's wealth is advantageous in trade though dangerous in war. "A nation that would enrich itself by foreign trade, is certainly most likely to do so when its neighbors are all rich, industrious, and commercial nations." ³ He thus became, in this powerful attack on the old system, the great and successful advocate of an "open and free commerce."

The break-down of mercantilism was brought about to a

¹ *The Wealth of Nations* (New York, 1878), p. 480.

² *Ibid.*, p. 481.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 378.

considerable extent by this epoch-making book. The Tories accepted its arguments easily, as they were not in favor of the "monopolizing manufacturers." The Whigs cared for the colonies only in so far as they added to the wealth of the mother country. Adam Smith had an important disciple in the younger Pitt, who became the Prime Minister of Great Britain at the close of the American Revolution. Although a freer trade was opened with France shortly before the French Revolution, the monopolistic attitude toward the colonies did not appreciably relax, and the newly independent United States was accorded but the necessary privileges to secure to the British the greater part of its trade.

Strangely enough, the American war, in which France, Spain, and Holland were involved as well, did not seem to affect British trade seriously. Adam Smith, himself, pointed out this fact for 1776. Although Great Britain lost many possessions in 1783, that nation remained supreme on the sea, and British commercial growth continued at a faster pace than ever. The trade of the United States was retained in spite of the efforts of France and Holland to acquire it, largely because of the superior British mercantile marine. In fact, those two nations lost more than they gained in the conflict. So far as they were concerned, Dean Tucker and Adam Smith seemed to be right.

In 1793 Jeremy Bentham wrote an interesting pamphlet entitled *Emancipate your Colonies!* It was addressed to the National Convention of France, but drew its illustrations of the value of emancipation from the experience of Great Britain. After arguing that trade is the child of capital and that a monopoly only keeps up prices, he refers to the youthful United States: "Will you believe experience? Turn to the United States. Before the separation Britain had a monopoly of their trade; upon the separation, of course, she lost it. How much less of their trade has Britain now than then? On the contrary, it is much greater. . . . Hear a paradox — it is a true one. Give up your colonies, they are yours. Keep them, they are ours." One reason given by Bentham in urging the French to emancipate their colonies was that their

example might lead the British to do the same: "By setting an example, you may open our eyes and force us to follow it."¹

This remarkable vitality of Great Britain, by which it apparently came out of a disastrous war stronger than ever, is to be found in the solid basis of its material prosperity during these years. While these external events were occurring — events which often occupy exclusively the pages of British histories of this period — a wonderful change was taking place in British manufactures and trade. It was not so spectacular a movement as the military conflicts of the American Revolution and of the Napoleonic period. The changes it wrought, however, were so sudden and momentous that it has come to be known as the "Industrial Revolution."

Pitt, in 1792, made an address on the public finances, in which he emphasized the vast increase that had come in commerce and industry. The reason that he gave for this unprecedented progress was the "improvement that has been made in the mode of carrying on almost every branch of manufacturing and the degree to which labor has been abridged by the invention and application of machinery." Great Britain was indeed becoming the workshop of the world during the last half of the eighteenth century. This came as the result of the extraordinary development of the hardware and textile trades in conjunction with maritime supremacy and the growing freedom of commercial intercourse. A well-known writer on the subject of the industry of Great Britain has stated the significance of the movement in the following way: "Nothing has done more to make England what she at present is — whether for better or worse — than this sudden and silent Industrial Revolution, for it increased her wealth tenfold and gave her half a century's start in front of the other nations of Europe."² The wealth and resources of Great Britain produced an energy exhaustless in its applications, surviving the enervating Napoleonic period and furnishing the adequate foundation for forces that were to

¹ *The Works of Jeremy Bentham* (Edinburgh, 1843), iv, 413-16.

² Gibbins, *Industry in England*, p. 341. "

lead to an even greater expansion of the Empire than the eighteenth century had witnessed.

THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

The Industrial Revolution was the result of a series of remarkable inventions applied especially to the textile trades and to improvements in the utilization of power for manufacturing, mining, communication, and transportation. The period during which this revolution was bringing in a new world, 1770 to 1825, included two great political revolutions, the American and the French. The series of inventions that so changed industry was the product of British ingenuity, save that of the cotton gin, which was invented by an American, Eli Whitney. Great Britain, therefore, had the full advantage of a long lead over the other nations, as every effort was made to prevent other nations from taking advantage of these inventions. It was not fortuitous, however, that these inventions were largely British. The formation of capital in England had been fostered by the foundation of the Bank of England during the reign of William and Mary. Besides, Britain's maritime power was secure and its markets were unlimited and accessible. Expensive improvements under such conditions could well be risked. Moreover, the Royal Society offered liberal prizes for needed improvements, and the inventions appeared with a responsiveness that has something almost mysterious about it.

It is very significant that the inventions dealt especially with the manufacture of cloth, particularly from cotton. As cotton could not be grown in the British Isles, the increasing usefulness of the plant gave it a world-rôle in the expanding industrial movement and helped appreciably to enlarge the British commercial outlook. The conditions in the cloth manufacture that were so fundamentally changed by these mechanical improvements are known under the name of the "domestic system." Before these epoch-making changes took place, the workmen themselves often bought the raw wool they used and went through the whole process of converting it into cloth. Naturally the work was

done very slowly. The home was the workshop and the family helped in the various processes with which the artisan was concerned. The women did the spinning and the man, and his assistants, the weaving. If not employed by some merchant, the master would dispose of his own products at the market or fair.

The cotton manufacture included a definite number of processes. In the first place, the raw wool or cotton had to be carded by a rough sort of comb, in order to straighten the fibers for use. Thereupon the fibers were drawn out and twisted into thread or yarn for weaving by means of the spinning-wheel. The next step was to prepare cloth for the tailor by the hand-loom. This consisted of a frame on which the threads forming the warp were stretched, and between these threads others were inserted by means of a shuttle, thrown through the alternate threads by the weaver.

The first improvement to be made in the cloth manufacture was in the weaving. In 1733 John Kay, of Bury in Lancashire, took out a patent for a fly shuttle, by which the shuttle was rapidly thrown from side to side through the warp by means of a shuttle-driver. This improvement, which more than doubled the production of one weaver's work, came into general use about 1760. It naturally increased the demand for yarn, a demand that could not be met by hand-labor.

The spinning process was revolutionized by the work of three inventors, James Hargreaves, Richard Arkwright, and Samuel Crompton. The need for a more rapid means of spinning was met first by James Hargreaves' invention of the spinning-jenny about 1764. To a simple wooden frame he attached eight spindles turned by a wheel; they provided eight threads at one time. By the close of the American Revolution, the number of spindles on one jenny had increased from eight to eighty, and over twenty thousand of these machines were in use in England in that year. They were doing the work that would have demanded the exclusive labor of a million and a half spinners twenty years before.

Richard Arkwright invented a process of spinning by

means of rollers; they were in pairs that revolved at different rates of speed and thus drew out the fibers. Arkwright used great secrecy in perfecting this process, and the mystified neighbors declared they heard strange noises proceed from his house, noises of a humming nature as if the devil were tuning up his bagpipes. At first horses were used for power, but to lessen the expense, Arkwright utilized water instead. Hence the machine was called the water-frame. The threads produced by the water-frame were of particularly good quality, and came to be used as warp instead of linen.

In 1779 Samuel Crompton, of Bolton in Lancashire, made a further improvement in the spinning process, by combining the virtues of the two previous inventions into what came to be known as the "mule." By 1811 more than four and a half million spindles worked by "mules" were in use in England.

Soon the weaving process was greatly accelerated by the invention of the power-loom. Dr. Edmund Cartwright, of Kent, obtained the patent for his new machine in 1785. Hand-loom weaving was thus largely superseded. Further improvements were made, so that by the beginning of the nineteenth century the loom could be worked without intermission and a child of fourteen or fifteen years of age could operate this machine that wove several times as much cloth as the best hand-weaver.

Cotton had been cleaned by hand until Eli Whitney, an American, invented the cotton-gin in the last decade of the eighteenth century. Formerly the cleaning of cotton had been so slow that little cotton could be used in the manufacture of cloth.

To these various inventions, which appeared almost simultaneously, might be added others hardly less important. It is sufficient to say that the effect of the introduction of these various mechanical assistants in the textile industry was amazingly to increase the production of cloth, especially cotton cloth, in England. Besides, it is most important to realize that these machines improved instead of cheapened the quality of the finished product.

THE STEAM ENGINE

Just as significant for England's colonial and commercial expansion were the improvements made at this time in power with its numerous practical applications. As indicated above, Arkwright used horses and later water to operate his machines. Yet water power imposed serious limitations on industry; rivers with a sufficient fall were needed, but often they were not to be found in convenient locations. These difficulties were overcome by the invention of the steam engine. It grew out of a crude invention for pumping contrived by Newcomen early in the century. From 1725 until 1770, Newcomen's engine was in common use in England. James Watt was repairing, in 1763, a Newcomen engine for the University of Glasgow. He was struck by its inefficiency and made a number of changes that produced an engine so greatly superior that it could be used for other purposes than pumping. In 1785 Watt's engine was introduced into the cotton factories, where its enormous advantages over water power were soon evident. Largely as a result of this new form of power, the cotton trade trebled in fifteen years.

The intimate relationship of the various manufacturing processes has been illustrated by the effect of the foregoing inventions. Further results were soon forthcoming. Machines demanded iron and iron that was of good quality. The iron trade, in turn, was dependent on fuel. Heretofore, wood had been used for smelting purposes, but the forests were so seriously affected that legislative prohibitions had limited the use of wood. Watt's new engine solved the difficulty by stimulating the production of coal, for by it mines were not only cleared of water, but shafts were sunk, and coal was brought from the pits. The English coal-fields became at once important. In consequence, the iron industry took on new life now that fuel for smelting was in greater abundance. In 1760, a blast furnace was invented which used coal in place of wood. Improvements appeared, also, in the mode of working malleable iron and making wrought iron. In 1784, the puddling forge was first used. As a result of

these various inventions, the output of iron ore at the close of the American Revolution had increased fourfold over the production of 1750.

A marked effect was produced on industry and commerce by the application of steam and improved machinery to communication both on land and water. Great improvements in roads were made at the time of the Industrial Revolution by such well-known roadmakers as Metcalfe, Telford, and Macadam. Carriage by water was becoming more general at this time by the development of the canal system. Brindley in 1758 completed the famous Bridgewater Canal, connecting the Duke of Bridgewater's colliery at Worsley with Manchester. In 1777 a canal ninety-six miles long was built between the Trent and the Mersey. Hull and Liverpool, Liverpool and Bristol, London and Oxford, were connected by canals in the latter part of the century. It was not long before these improvements were superseded by the application of the steam engine to transportation.

The application of steam power to railways and to ocean vessels was made toward the end of this period. It has done probably as much as the great inventions to revolutionize commerce. Richard Trevithick constructed a locomotive in 1801, but this predecessor of the modern automobile was found too expensive to operate. He next turned to the use of rails for the wheels, and in 1804 his railway locomotive made its first trip on a prepared track. The name of George Stephenson is better known, however, in the development of the railway. His "traveling engine" of 1814 was used between a colliery and a shipping port nine miles away. The Stockton and Darlington Railway operated a Stephenson engine in 1822. It was seven years later that his *Rocket* won against its rivals in trials on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway. His engine, weighing a little over four tons, ran twenty-nine miles an hour.

The effect of steam on navigation has been just as remarkable. The first practical steamship was the tug *Charlotte Dundas*, which was used in 1802 in the Forth and Clyde Canal. It was propelled by a Watt engine. The *Comet*, built

by Henry Bell and launched on the Clyde in the year 1812, was the first steam passenger vessel in Great Britain. In the meantime, Robert Fulton, who seems to have received assistance from Bell, built the *Clermont* in New York. This boat, equipped with an engine made by Watt, successfully steamed up the Hudson to Albany, one hundred and forty-five miles away.

From this time the application of steam engines to navigation went on rapidly. The first steamship to cross the Atlantic was the *Savannah*, an American vessel, which accomplished the journey in 1825 in twenty-six days. The famous *Great Western* began to make regular passages in 1838. Two years later Sir Samuel Cunard established his well-known line of Atlantic steamships. In 1850 the Collins line was organized as its American rival, but the latter's success was shortlived, owing to a succession of marine disasters. The keen competition of these lines, however, brought the time for the transatlantic journey to nine days by the year 1854. In that year, Great Britain had nearly two hundred thousand tons of shipping under steam power. When the War of 1914 opened, it had reached the tremendous aggregate of nineteen million tons.

Such were some of the amazing results of this period of inventions. The list could be extended almost indefinitely. The first steam printing-press was installed by the London *Times* in 1814. This particular application of steam meant cheaper and more widely diffused printed materials, and thus better education for the poor, and a greater interest in the world beyond one's own small community. The possibilities for an enlarged democracy are in a real way to be connected with the work of James Watt and his successors. A further means of communication was found in 1832 with the invention of the telegraph. With this invention a new source of power, electricity, came into use. It was much later that the telephone (1876) and the wireless (1895) assisted still further in binding man to man and nation to nation.

The improvements mentioned in the last paragraph carry us beyond the first stage of the Industrial Revolution. They

serve, however, to illustrate the continuity of the great movement that took so sudden a start back in 1760. With the use of electricity for the locomotive, the ocean vessel, the airship, the street-car, the truck, and the automobile, the age of steam has reached its limit. As a result of this constantly accelerating development we are as far from the days of the *Mayflower* in the use of our tools as the Pilgrim ship was beyond the days of the Roman trireme.

THE AFTERMATH OF REVOLUTION

What did this development mean for the British Empire? So extensive have been its influences that the division between the old and the new colonial Empires is to be marked not only by the American Revolution, but also by the revolutionary change taking place at this time in industry.

For one thing the wealth of Great Britain was marvelously increased. There was no immediate corresponding development on the continent of Europe, for the inventions were by Englishmen or Americans and were first applied successfully and generally in Great Britain and in the United States. One evidence of the growth in Britain's wealth is found in the increase of the revenue. At the opening of the Seven Years' War, it was but five million pounds and had not doubled since the opening of the century; by the year 1830, the revenue was ten times its size at the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. The increase in the important industries illustrates even more vividly the growth of the nation's wealth. Seventeen thousand tons of pig iron were manufactured in England in 1740; by 1830, production had been increased forty-fold.

The growth of the textile industries is very significant. The woolen manufactured annually in the middle of the eighteenth century was worth four million pounds; by 1833, it had doubled, in spite of difficulties found in obtaining wool.¹ The greatest increase came in the cotton manufac-

¹ By 1800, sheep farming had begun in Australia; its marvelous development in Australia and New Zealand was of prime importance to English manufacturers. See pp. 242 ff., 256.

tures. Previous to Whitney's invention of the cotton-gin in 1792, the supply of cotton for British manufacturers was almost wholly from the British and French West Indian islands. Whitney's gin greatly speeded the production of raw cotton, especially in the United States. In 1750 there were less than three million pounds imported by England from all sources; in 1792, the amount had increased eleven times, and by 1830, ninety times. Since 1760 the cotton manufactures of Great Britain have enlarged over six hundred times, and that nation is still ahead of every competitor in this important branch of industry.

The extraordinary increase in wealth produced the concentration of capital. The factory system led to the employment of large numbers of people in the industrial centers by the relatively few capitalists who controlled the industries. The capitalist appeared with alarming rapidity. His great wealth gave him weight in politics, and this, in turn, led to an increasing influence of capital on the country's foreign and colonial policy. With the parliamentary reform of 1832, the rich bourgeoisie began to shape British political tendencies with greater force than before. It is well to note, in view of this result of the Industrial Revolution, that the connection of the Empire with trading interests is more prominent than ever after the period of the great inventions.

As more goods were produced than could be used at home, ocean transportation was an absolute necessity for the development of the new industry. In addition, raw materials were needed from beyond the seas. Steam navigation answered this need while the wealth of the country lessened the burden imposed by the great fleets which continued to give Britain the mastery of the sea. At the same time the export and import trade made British sea-power more important than ever to its life. From 1750 to 1830 exports and imports increased fivefold; in 1910 they totaled seventy times their aggregate at the opening of the Industrial Revolution. This is one of the most amazing phenomena of modern British life, for in the same period of time previous to 1750, Britain's exports and imports had increased but fourfold.

One important result of this rapid industrial advance is to be seen in the effect it had on the population. In the first half of the nineteenth century, England's population increased seventy per cent. The easier production of clothing and food, as a result of the numerous mechanical improvements for factories and agriculture, certainly accounts in part for this advance. There was a baneful effect of the movement as well, for it brought hardships to large sections of the population in England. The rapid changes in industrial life resulted in great unsettlement, as there was a strong movement to the cities and the factory centers. Poorer living conditions and new standards imposed by the callous capitalists made the workers' conditions less pleasant and healthy. Women and children were subjected to inhuman treatment; unemployment and "hard times" brought dissatisfaction. This led to a considerable emigration from the mother country, and helps to account for the rapid peopling of the colonies in the nineteenth century. During every decade of the nineteenth century several hundred thousand inhabitants of Great Britain went to the colonies, there to start new Britains and bind them to the mother country across the seas.

The effect of the improved means of communication on the growth of the Empire will be evident without elaborate explanation. One of the great difficulties with the old Empire had been the matter of distance. England had difficulty in transporting and caring for a few thousand troops in America during the American Revolution. What a contrast there is in the recent transportation of two million men and their supplies from the United States to the battle-fields of France during the last years of the World War! What the railway and telegraph did for the various parts of the British Isles, steamships and cables have done for the Empire. A new sense of national unity came with greater surety and speed in communication. The new Empire has grown in a surer way, because to the "mystic cords" of memory and loyalty are added the actual mechanical bonds of fast steamships, a great navy, transoceanic cables, and wireless communication

We have found that the Industrial Revolution covered, roughly speaking, the years between 1770 and 1825. During this time the American Revolution took place, but it produced no appreciable effect on the industrial life of Great Britain because of the changes then taking place in the domestic system of manufacture. A third revolution, the great political and social upheaval that began in France in 1789 and was continued by the wars of Napoleon until 1815, is also included in the years of the industrial change in England. It was of importance in its effect on the British Empire; of especial interest is the way by which the Britain which had been strengthened by the new economic resources was able to withstand Napoleon, who strained every effort to become master of the Europe of his day.

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CHAPTER X

THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND NAPOLEON

THE American Revolution ended in 1783 with the loss to Great Britain of an important part of its Empire. This was the consequence, to an extent, of the aimless and inefficient leadership that characterized the British Government during the early years of the reign of George III. A hopeful change occurred when the younger Pitt came to office in 1783. The son was to prove as remarkable a leader in time of crisis as his father had been in a similar situation forty years earlier. Pitt was but twenty-four years of age when he obtained the highest office in British public life, a significant fact, as his youth contributed energy and optimism at a time when they were sorely needed. In truth, Great Britain might well have been despondent over the outcome of its fifth great struggle with France. His youth accounts, also, for his energy in introducing reform ideas into the administration and in repairing "the evils arising out of the old order of things." He was a sympathetic student of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. Above all he had high principles and an enthusiastic belief in Britain's future. Fortunately for him, the Industrial Revolution was already amassing wealth in the country, and thus preparing the nation to furnish Pitt with the sinews of war so needed in the approaching troubles.

A WORLD WAR

Six years after the thirteen colonies left the Empire, the great French Revolution began. In some ways it was the British Empire's severest test. This protracted struggle with France and Napoleon, which lasted with but few intermissions from 1793 to 1815, was the last in the series of wars we have been considering. From 1689 to the downfall of Napoleon, Great Britain and France were enemies. Moreover, the enmity was more than European; it was a world-struggle.

This last conflict for commercial and maritime supremacy between these two dominant nations — the sixth act of a world-drama — resulted in an unqualified victory for the British Empire. The British naval and industrial supremacy were the effective weapons used in the struggle with France. So signal was the victory that a new Empire was made possible.

In consequence, this period of strife is important in a survey of the Empire and its growth. To-day's world-girdling dominion received its sanctions in the strain of a world war. A brief account of the struggle needs to be given that the nature of British strength may be seen. In addition, significant operations were taking place in various parts of its oversea possessions, former conquests were being consolidated, and strategic points added to the fabric of the imperial structure. They make the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Period noteworthy in our study.

When the Estates General of France was changed in 1789 into the Constituent Assembly for the purpose of reforming the government and finances of France, many Englishmen were warmly in favor of the movement. But by 1790 the radicalism of the French lower classes was becoming so strong, and extreme measures were already so much in evidence, that conservative Englishmen began to doubt the value of the Revolution. Edmund Burke took a strong stand against the movement in his famous *Reflections* published in that year, and his prognostications seemed justified when the Reign of Terror developed in France. Pitt, the Prime Minister, had been favorable to the movement at the outset, but he gradually was led to a more hostile position. When French troops threatened to overrun the Netherlands in the latter part of 1792, Holland appealed to Great Britain for help; assistance was promised if the need should arise. An additional grievance appeared when the French opened the Scheldt in defiance of treaties guaranteed by Great Britain.¹

¹ This river, with its outlet in Holland, flowed past the Belgian cities of Ghent and Antwerp. The Scheldt had been closed to navigation as far back as 1648. Just before the Revolution, Joseph II had wished it opened so as to

Moreover, republicanism was contagious. The French were so enthusiastic as even to call men of like feeling in other countries to follow their lead, and throw off the yoke of kings and tyrants. The tension became so severe early in 1793 that the French minister was ordered out of England. In February of that year, France declared war on Great Britain and Holland.

It was during 1793 and 1794 that the worst of Revolutionary excesses found expression in the Reign of Terror. Though the weak and inefficient government of the Directory succeeded the terribly effective days of Terror, Britain and its allies accomplished little in spite of their numerical strength. The complete defeat of Austria in Italy by the young General Bonaparte in 1797 brought a temporary cessation to hostilities. It was soon ended, however, by his expedition to Egypt in 1798. In the next year he returned as a popular hero to organize the French Republic as a consular government with himself as the First Consul. A military genius of the first order, possessed with unlimited ambition and controlled by no scruples whatever, became the exponent of revolution.

A second coalition against Bonaparte was formed in 1799. Again his unexampled ability brought his continental enemies to defeat. Two years later the coalition was broken up, and in 1802 Great Britain and France signed the Peace of Amiens. It was but a truce, for within thirteen months the two nations were again at war. In 1804 Bonaparte became hereditary Emperor of the French. During the next ten years he endeavored to build a secure empire in Europe on the basis of military power. For a time he continued to win victory after victory, his armies ranging from Spain and Portugal to Moscow and Berlin. About 1811, when the Corsican adventurer was at the height of his power, all of Europe was in his Empire, under his control, or allied with him

serve as an outlet for the commerce of the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium). Now that the French controlled Belgium, it seemed more necessary than ever to keep Antwerp from direct communication with the sea. France was a great maritime power, and, with Antwerp as a base for its fleet, the position of England would be seriously endangered.

y compulsion, with the exception of Turkey, Russia, Sweden, Portugal, and Great Britain.

Britain remained throughout all this long period Bonaparte's one bitter, implacable, unconquerable enemy; wealth and sea-power finally wore down his military brilliancy. And when Bonaparte's mistreatment of the various peoples subject to his rule roused in them the spirit of national revolt, he succumbed. Napoleon, after being driven back to France, made a last effort to recover his position in the Hundred Days of 1815. He was defeated at Waterloo, and the lonely island of St. Helena — a possession of the English East India Company — became the home of one who had for a time held Europe as in the hollow of his hand.

What is the place of this struggle in the building of Britain's Empire?

For one thing, it demonstrated beyond a doubt the supremacy of Britain on the sea and the decisive part that sea-power was to play in international strife. Even in the days before the establishment of Napoleon's power, the lesson had come home with telling force. Admiral Howe, in 1794, had tried to intercept a supply of food coming from the United States to France. Although the convoy was not captured, he won a great victory on the "Glorious First of June" over the Brest fleet. In 1797 the French planned to invade England with the assistance of the Spanish and Dutch fleets. The danger was averted by the defeat of the Spanish off Cape St. Vincent in that year by a British fleet that was inferior in size. It was in this battle that Commodore Horatio Nelson won the title of Admiral by his daring attack on the vanguard of the Spanish line. In the same year Admiral Duncan defeated the Dutch fleet off Camperdown.

Sea-power was decisive again when Napoleon invaded Egypt in 1798. He managed to reach Egypt with his army, but Nelson completely destroyed the French fleet in Aboukir Bay. This famous Battle of the Nile established British supremacy in the Mediterranean, and limited Bonaparte's efforts to unsupported expeditions in Egypt and Syria, which largely failed in their purposes. Yet in the seductive

land of the Nile he dreamed of a new empire that would rival that of Alexander the Great. Marmont has preserved for us his grandiloquent schemes: "Egypt was once a powerful kingdom. What a point of vantage this would be in offensive warfare against the English! We are perhaps destined to change the fact of the Orient. This is the hour when characters of a superior order should show themselves." But the loss of the navy prevented the working out of his plans. Leaving the remnants of his army in Egypt, he eluded the British vessels in 1799 and returned to France to take a more direct hand in the government.

When war began in 1803, after the short truce following the Peace of Amiens, British naval supremacy was to be more severely tested. Napoleon made every effort to defeat his island opponent. Elaborate plans were prepared for an invasion of Britain. An army was gathered at Boulogne; flat-bottomed boats in large numbers were prepared for the transportation of troops; Spain was dragged into the contest to furnish additional defense for the invading army. This master of land warfare did not realize the way that British skill, energy, and familiarity with the sea, especially in those days of sailing vessels, were continually upsetting his best-laid plans. The French Emperor's hope of successful maritime warfare was definitely destroyed in 1805, when Nelson met the combined fleets of France and Spain off Trafalgar, near the western entrance to the Strait of Gibraltar. Nelson had twenty-seven ships, his opponent thirty-three. After a terrible contest in which Nelson lost his life, the British won a great victory, having sunk or captured three fourths of the vessels of the French and Spanish fleet. Britain, "compassed by the inviolate sea," had been saved from Napoleonic attack.

The effect of Trafalgar was momentous. Napoleon thereafter was forced to confine his operations to the Continent. He had planned, in case his major campaign against England should prove indecisive, to attack India, for the Emperor was possessed with the idea that Britain's wealth was in its Indian Empire. With the overwhelming defeat of

Trafalgar he had to give up all hope of making the conflict a colonial struggle. In addition, as a result of this disaster in 1805, he was compelled to abandon his plans of reviving the French colonial Empire. There was left but one other way of attacking Great Britain. The French Emperor now hoped to destroy his opponent by excluding British commerce from the Continent. But to do this he must conquer or subordinate all of Europe. Britain replied to this attack by subsidizing its continental allies — as the elder Pitt had done in the Seven Years' War — and by carrying a stubborn opposition to fields where Napoleon was most at home.

THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM

The next phase of the duel, therefore, is the great commercial struggle between the two Empires. Bonaparte attempted to establish a "Continental System" for excluding British goods from Europe. As the Continent was England's chief market, Napoleon was convinced that the prohibition of this traffic would cripple his opponent and at the same time build up the resources of France. The Emperor was unable fully to appreciate the extensiveness of British industrial and commercial growth or the effect of the continental war on his island-enemy. Great Britain's wealth of resource had been augmented so greatly by the inventions of Arkwright, Hargreaves, Crompton, and Watt that the attack of Napoleon was ineffectual. It was not only the development of the Industrial Revolution before the war that strengthened England; the world-conflict itself tended startlingly to accelerate the movement. The demands of a fighting nation increased the industrial output, and this demand was the more easily met as Britain more and more monopolized ocean commerce. With the progress of the war the harbors of Great Britain received a larger and ever larger percentage of the products of non-European countries, especially tropical products. This flow of raw materials directly favored an industrial revolution in which a tropical plant such as cotton played so important a rôle. The output

and the cost of cotton goods were such that the restrictions of a continental system were largely ineffectual.

From 1806 to the disastrous campaign in Russia six years later, the struggle went on. The task was a difficult one for Napoleon, since it meant constant vigilance along a great stretch of irregular coast. He was led inevitably to trample upon the peoples of the nations he brought into his "System"; by restricting their supplies of goods from the outside he introduced discomfort and want, and engendered ill feeling by the military occupation of these subordinate states. The outcome was a foregone conclusion, in spite of the fact that the deluded Emperor believed he could "conquer the sea by the land."

The British had issued an Order in Council in 1806, putting under blockade the coast of the Continent from Brest to the Elbe. This order gave provocation to Napoleon, who retaliated with the Berlin Decree in the same year. This famous document declared a blockade of the British Isles by a government without a navy. It decreed that all commerce by France or its dependents with Great Britain was forbidden and that British goods were subject to capture. The British replied by an Order in Council early in 1807 intended to stop the coastwise trade in Europe. The measure was hard on neutrals, the Americans in particular, but in the death-grapple of these two Empires neutrals mattered little. Napoleon also directed his plans against neutrals. In July of 1807 he notified both Portugal and Denmark that they must choose France or Great Britain. In November Great Britain went still further by the issuance of three more Orders in Council, by which a blockade was declared for all ports of France and French colonies and, in addition, those of nations allied to France. Ships importing to the Continent must first stop at a British port and there pay charges amounting practically to an import duty. The same process was to be observed on the return voyage. The commerce of the Continent thus paid toll both going and coming, and Great Britain was made the staple for world-trade.

This attempt to make Britain the center of the world's

commerce found Napoleon in Italy. In December he retaliated with the Milan Decree. All ships submitting to search by the British became "denationalized" and were regarded as "good and lawful prizes." Although France had no navy, there were French privateers that could cause much harm. More British Orders followed. Napoleon replied by further Decrees and by harsher measures on land in the hope of enforcing a "System" capable of defeating his enemy. The conflict became a struggle between one power commanding the sea and the other controlling the land.

The French Emperor found it impossible to keep British goods from finding their way to the Continent. There was too much coast-line to watch and the nations were not sufficiently sympathetic with his plans to suffer the privations and high prices in order that Britain might be defeated. In 1808 Napoleon was compelled to include Spain in his possessions in order to strengthen the "System." His brother Joseph was made King of Spain, but the conquest proved no easy matter. The occupation of the peninsula is often regarded as the beginning of his decline, for the Spanish "ulcer" terribly drained the resources and life of France, and the stubbornness of this national resistance to the tyrant proved malignantly infectious by arousing other countries to the same temper.

Holland had received another Bonaparte as ruler in 1806. Louis, who sought to identify himself with this people, would not ruin his country by throttling its great maritime commerce. Neutral ships were openly admitted into Dutch ports and confiscations did not take place. The country became a regular way of entry for the goods of near-by Britain. Napoleon, who could not tolerate this breach in his defenses, compelled Louis to abdicate in 1810, and annexed Holland to France. A little later in that year northwestern Germany was added, which extended the French frontier to Denmark. In this way the trading towns of the Hanse came under the direct supervision of the Corsican.

In spite of all these efforts, the "Continental System" did not work. Success would have required more military force

than Napoleon could obtain even by conscripting boys in France and forcing from subject states unwilling levies. Britain's sea supremacy, achieved in 1805, controlled commerce so completely that rival commercial navies were swept from the sea. The Industrial Revolution had developed Britain so wonderfully that it became the necessary source for materials for a Continent racked by war. Great Britain seized Heligoland in 1807, and used it as a *dépôt* of supplies for the Continent. Another method of keeping trade moving was by the use of neutralized vessels. Although contrary to the Orders in Council, Britain permitted their use, as they assisted in the disposal of goods. These vessels were furnished with licenses which allowed them to ply their business under other flags than the British. Large fleets of licensed vessels went yearly to the Baltic with British and colonial goods. When loaded for the return, they would be convoyed in fleets of about five hundred by the British navy as they returned to England.

The strain of the war became severe on Great Britain, but French imperial control suffered still more. In 1811 serious commercial crises occurred in France, as French luxuries could not find markets and British smuggled produce undersold the French materials. Moreover, Spain still held out stubbornly against the French army.

Another nation, Russia, began to cause serious trouble about this time. For some time Russia had been restless under the "System," and in 1810 Napoleon had written to the Czar: "Six hundred English merchant ships wandering in the Baltic, have been refused admission to Prussian ports and those of Mecklenburg, and have steered for your Majesty's states. . . . Your Majesty knows that if you confiscate them we shall have peace. Whatever their papers, under whatever names they are masked, your Majesty may be sure they are English."¹ But Russia finally chose war, permitting the entry of British goods by a secret understanding. Thereupon followed the Napoleonic invasion of Russia in 1812. The disasters that ensued gave hope to Napoleon's other

¹ Mahan, *The Influence of Sea-Power on the French Revolution*, II, 344.

enemies. They joined against him in 1813 and defeated him in the Battle of the Nations at Leipzig. Two years later came Waterloo.

THE FRUITS OF BRITISH VICTORY

One consequence of the sort of war waged from 1806 to 1812 was the crushing of neutrals. The nations were compelled to side with the one or the other belligerent, since a world war makes neutrality impossible for any nation with large outside interests. A neutral carrier could not be left the freedom of the sea, for it weakened the commercial measures aimed at the enemy. As the United States was an important maritime nation with many products of which it wished to dispose, the Decrees of Napoleon and the British Orders in Council were very seriously felt. The United States remained neutral for a time, but in 1812 was led to declare war on Great Britain as a result of the difficulties arising out of the rights of shipping on the high seas. Madison, as well as Calhoun, thought the logical thing was to make war on both the nations. Napoleon deceived the United States into thinking that he was giving way in regard to his dealings with neutrals. As a matter of fact, he did not, while Great Britain actually did withdraw the objectionable Orders in Council before the United States declared war. Transatlantic communication was so slow, however, that it was not known in time.

Another consequence of the trade-war was the monopolization of the commerce of the world by Great Britain. The navies of its rivals "fade away" in the unequal struggle. The Danish navy, for example, was seized in 1807 and kept until the end of the war for fear that Napoleon would use it. In addition to the destruction of fighting ships, the commercial navies of other nations became very weak, and Great Britain absorbed the greater part of the carrying trade. Thus the necessary complement to industrial supremacy was added when commercial leadership on the sea was assured by the naval supremacy of Great Britain.

Moreover, Great Britain found the opportunity ideal for

enlarging an already extensive colonial Empire, inasmuch as the rival colonial empires of France, Spain, and Holland were nominally under the control of Napoleon. The Spanish Empire consisted, in large part, of the continent of South America. It was as a result of the European war that independent nations developed from these colonies. They had drifted into independence during the time when Joseph Bonaparte was attempting to subjugate Spain; after 1814 the Spanish were unable to bring them into submission. They received assistance from both Great Britain and the United States. It was in this connection that the United States later asserted the famous Monroe Doctrine, the germ of which was a suggestion by the British minister, Canning. This document stated the determination of the United States to regard as an "unfriendly act towards the United States" any attempt to oppress or control the republics that had recently declared their independence. The Monroe Doctrine was not aimed at Great Britain, although the British made an abortive effort during this period to conquer Argentina. It expressed opposition to the possible spread to the New World, by the reconquest of South America, of the reaction then dominant on the European continent. Although the South American republics did not become a part of Britain's Empire they were an important field for British commercial activity.

Of the greatest importance were the actual additions made to the British Empire as a result of the wars from 1793 to 1815. The British navy took Tobago in the West Indies and St. Pierre and Miquelon (near Newfoundland) in the first year of the war. Martinique, Sta. Lucia, and Guadeloupe surrendered to Great Britain in 1794. Some of these islands changed hands several times before the British won sure command of the sea at Trafalgar. After the formation of the Batavian Republic in 1795, the Dutch colonies, also, became open to British attack. In 1796 Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice (parts of Guiana) were taken, and Surinam and Curaçao were added a few years later. Of the Spanish possessions in the West Indies, Trinidad was taken in 1797. In 1801 even Sweden and Denmark lost their islands across the Atlantic.

The Dutch island of Ceylon off southern India was seized by an expedition from Madras early in the war. In spite of the fact that Ceylon welcomed the end of the severe Dutch rule, the natives of the mountainous interior caused the British considerable trouble, and it was not until 1817 that quiet finally prevailed. The British were not slow to appreciate the value of the island as a part of their Empire. In the same year that Ceylon was taken, Banda and Amboina — ancient battle-grounds of British, Dutch, and Portuguese — were captured by the British. The very important Dutch possession of Cape Colony was occupied by the British in September, 1795.

In 1802 the Peace of Amiens served to stop the struggle, if but temporarily. By the terms of this treaty Great Britain restored all the colonial possessions of France, Spain, and Holland it had taken, except Ceylon and Trinidad. Minorca and Malta, in the Mediterranean, were also relinquished.

As noted above, the war was reopened in 1803. Britain quickly retook the West Indian possessions which had been returned in 1802, and before the war ended no other flags save the British and the Spanish waved in that part of the world. In the East the British conquered the Dutch island of Java. Napoleon's plans against the British Empire in India had prompted the occupation of the two French islands, Bourbon and the Île de France (Mauritius) off the coast of East Africa. With their capture the colonial Empire of France ceased to exist. In 1806 Cape Colony was retaken, this time to be held permanently and to become the nucleus for one of the most important parts of Greater Britain.

Sir Home Popham had led the expedition to Cape Colony. After its capture he proceeded to South America, there to add another valuable possession to the British Empire by the capture of Buenos Aires. This expedition seems to have been made on his own initiative. It is clear, however, that Pitt, as early as 1796, had in mind the acquisition of part of South America. The Board of Admiralty in 1804 desired Admiral Popham to take advantage of any opportunity that arose "which might lead to our obtaining a position on the conti-

nent of South America, favorable to the trade of this country." ¹ Buenos Aires was taken in 1806. The shipment to England of goods worth a million and a half dollars aroused joy and resulted in the approval of the unauthorized capture. The British thereupon determined to send an expedition for the capture of Chile. Before it had proceeded to the west coast of South America, Buenos Aires had been recaptured by the Spanish. The British endeavor to retake the city failed through the stupidity of General Whitelock, who had twelve thousand troops at his command. Had the British at this juncture been efficiently led, the Greater Britain of today might include the fertile plains of the Argentine.

By the Congress of Vienna a final disposition was made of all the problems arising out of the downfall of Napoleon. The British retained, of the Dutch colonies, Ceylon, Cape Colony, and a portion of Dutch Guiana (Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice). Banda was returned in exchange for Cochin and the Dutch possessions on the Malabar coast of India. The French received again their colonial possessions with the exception of Tobago and Sta. Lucia, in the West Indies, and Mauritius, in the Indian Ocean. Heligoland, which had been taken from Denmark as a convenient post for evading Napoleon's "Continental System," was retained by Great Britain. Malta was added to the British Empire, and the Ionian Islands, west of Greece, were placed under a British protectorate. ²

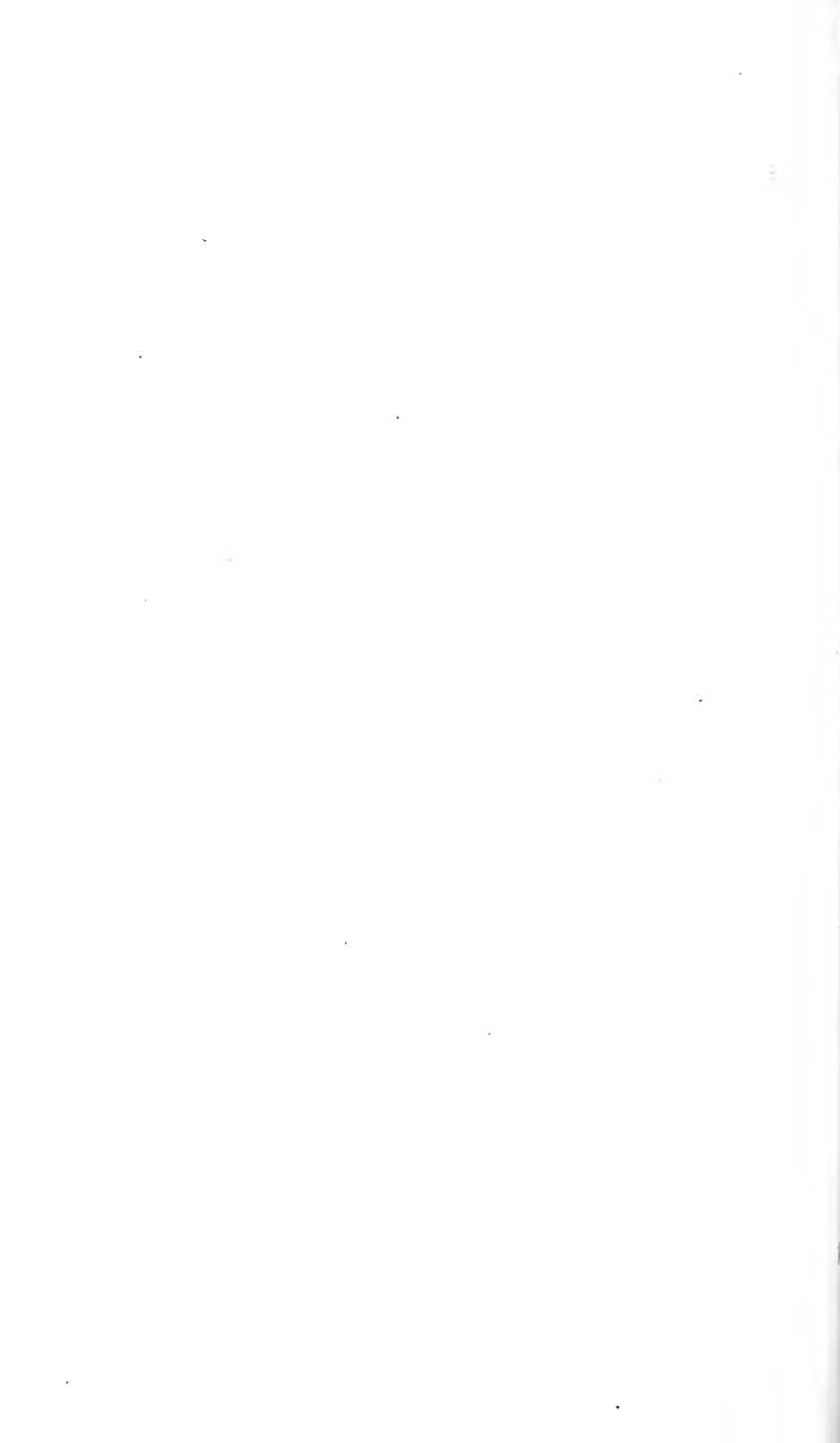
The additions to the Empire, as a result of the long war, do not compare in size to the acquisitions following the Seven Years' War or to the losses resulting from the American Revolt. Cape Colony, however, was to prove very important, and ample compensation was soon to be found for the loss of the American colonies in 1783. Britain does not seem to have had any conscious desire to enlarge its colonial possessions at this time; military considerations were dominant in its selection of the enemy's colonies that were kept after 1815. Otherwise Java certainly would have been retained.

¹ Quoted by Moses, *South America on the Eve of Emancipation*, p. 255.

² See p. 341.







It should be noted that during this time the consolidation of the Indian Empire was going forward. And Canada, although as yet confined to the eastern part of the present Dominion, was pushing its frontier westward. George Vancouver, in the last decade of the century, made important surveys of the west coast of North America, where an important British colony was to take root. Beginnings had been made in Australia as well.

Even though there was no great conception of a new colonial Empire, it was at hand. The war had once more made clear the naval supremacy of the British. This, in turn, gave a feeling of security in the possession of distant lands. Along with the naval supremacy Great Britain had obtained the monopoly of maritime commerce as well as a more secure leadership in industry. It was but natural that out of the sense of security and the need of commercial expansion there gradually grew a new Empire. Our next task is to trace the rise of this new colonial interest.

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CHAPTER XI

A NEW COLONIAL INTEREST

IN 1825 Great Britain had an empire of imposing size. There were numerous trading-posts and islands in all parts of the globe. Sections of continents, such as India, Canada, Cape Colony, and even a continent, Australia, formed part of its far-spread dominions. The Empire included lands occupied by Englishmen, others by foreign European populations, and some largely occupied by native peoples. It was the only empire of any importance existing at that time. Englishmen might well be proud. In 1811, as the Napoleonic wars were drawing to a conclusion, the *Quarterly Review* expressed this satisfaction in such broad possessions in the following fashion: "England, that 'little body with a mighty soul,' has carried its arts and its arms to every corner of the habitable globe. If we cast our eyes on the map of the world we shall find that the sun in its daily course never sets upon Englishmen." ¹

THE NADIR OF EMPIRE

Yet, strangely enough, this feeling of satisfaction does not seem to have been very general in the years immediately following the downfall of Napoleon. The imperial spirit was lacking. This disregard was certainly owing somewhat to the domestic troubles following 1815, when social and financial readjustment took much attention. The general attitude of the British public at that time toward its colonies has been well described as one of "indifference tempered by uneasiness." It is traceable to various causes.

In the first place, the possessions Great Britain retained in the early nineteenth century were not of a character to cause great pride. Its fairest colonies — those in North America — had become a free United States. Canada was strongly French and the Cape largely Dutch in population. In

¹ Vol. vi, p. 496.

dia was an immense holding, but its great population was of alien stock. The West Indies were overwhelmingly negro in race. In fact, the colonies as a whole were not British. The population of the colonies about 1825 was three million, roughly speaking, of whom two fifths were whites and the remainder free blacks and slaves. Trouble had occurred and was likely to present itself again as the British met other racial stocks in these possessions. Canada was to rise in insurrection in 1837, and the negroes as well as the Dutch were causing trouble at the Cape. In the West Indies the labor problem was arousing continual anxiety, as the abolition of the slave-trade in 1807 had not improved matters for the planters. In addition to all this we must remember that the beginnings of the great colony of Australia had been made with the worst classes of the population; the transportation of criminals to New South Wales had been carried on since 1788. When the British thought of colonies, they thought of backward native peoples or the transportation of criminals and paupers, conditions that caused the very word "colony" to "stink in the nostrils of self-respecting men."

Another important cause for dissatisfaction was the great expense of colonial establishments. And this was in the face of a desire for retrenchment after the exhausting Napoleonic conflict. In 1830 Sir J. W. Gordon stated this widespread feeling when asked to take part in an inquiry concerning colonial expenditure: "The House of Commons and the public have their attention very closely fixed upon the state of our Colonies; they have for years been made the scapegoat of our expenditure, and when we are now called upon to explain the reasons for keeping up our present military establishments, our answer is 'The Colonies, the Colonies.' There is no department of the public service which has not a drain upon its resources from the Colonies."¹ Colonies also served as a convenient means of satisfying placemen and obtaining the perquisites of office, since it was hard to make government at a distance responsible. Charles Buller wrote as late as 1840: "The patronage of the colonial office is the prey of every hun-

¹ Quoted in *King's College Lectures on Colonial Problems*, pp. 144-45.

gry department. On it the Horse Guards quarters its worn-out general officers as governors; the Admiralty cribs its share; and jobs which even Parliamentary rapacity would blush to ask from the Treasury, are perpetuated with impunity." ¹

The colonial burden was satirized in 1828 by Disraeli in his *Voyage of Captain Popanilla*. An uninhabited island, consisting of bare rock, is discovered by the secretary. Its fortification is immediately ordered; a president of the council is appointed, a bishop, judges, and an agent for dealing with the original inhabitants. Popanilla asks why this small rock is crammed "full of clerks, soldiers, lawyers and priests." The guide replies: "I am the last man in the world to answer questions, but I believe we call it the colonial system." ²

The numerous references to the expense of the system make it evident that the problem was felt keenly. The trade with the West Indies was decreasing in value during this period, owing to the discontinuance of the slave-trade and the competition of the beet-sugar industry on the European continent. If the important sugar colonies no longer served the mother country, small use could be found for the snow-clad Canadas or the distant possessions in the southern hemisphere. Sir Henry Parnell published, in 1830, a work entitled *Financial Reform*, in which he concluded: "The discovery of the real sources of wealth has shown the folly of wasting lives and treasure on colonial possessions." ³ In 1825 J. R. McCulloch discussed at length in the *Edinburgh Review* the value of colonial territories. Serious objection to the idea of colonies was advanced by this important economist on the ground of expense. "The mere military expense attending the government of our West Indian and North American colonies costs the treasury of Great Britain, in times of peace, little less than a million a year, exclusive of the revenue collected in them. . . . We defy any one to point out a single benefit, of any sort whatever, derived by us from the possession of Canada, and our other colonies in North

¹ Mills, *The Colonization of Australia*, p. 16.

² *Ibid.*, p. 16.

³ *Quarterly Review*, XLII, 506.

America. They are productive of heavy expense to Great Britain, but of nothing else. We are well convinced that it is a moderate computation to affirm that these provinces have already cost us sixty to seventy millions." ¹

Trade was often given as a reason for keeping and developing colonies. This argument seemed especially defenseless during the early years of the nineteenth century. The United States, no longer an expense to Great Britain, had proved since its independence a very important market for British materials. McCulloch further argued the uselessness of colonies by using the United States as an example. "Has the emancipation of the American colonies been in the slightest degree prejudicial to our wealth, commerce or industry? The reverse, as every one knows, is decidedly the fact. We have continued since the peace of 1783, to enjoy every previous advantage resulting from our intercourse with the colonies; and we have done this without being subjected, as was previously the case, to the heavy expense of maintaining armaments for the defence of such distant and extensive territories. . . . Our trade with the United States, now that they are independent, rests on quite as firm a basis as it did when they were subject to our regulations." ²

The United States served as an influence, in another way, that led to doubt as to the value of the colonial system. Englishmen became more and more convinced that the loss of the American colonies had taught the uselessness of endeavoring to keep dependencies that had come to maturity. Turgot, Dean Tucker, and Adam Smith seemed right. The colonies apparently proved two things: that a growing democracy led to an increasing restiveness in imperial bonds; and that the attempt to make the colonies self-supporting or to induce them to share in imperial expense would be unavailing. The British statesmen of the day were thinking largely in terms of the financial return. The same attitude that caused the weakening of the old colonial system in 1783 was tending to break up the whole fabric of external dominion. Imperialistic thinking, with which we are familiar to-

¹ XLII, 291.

² *Ibid.*, p. 284.

day, was rare indeed. If some of the Whig leaders of the day had had their way, Great Britain might have had no old Empire as a nucleus for the new.

The *Edinburgh Review*, in considering in 1808 a life of Washington, declared that "America left because the acquisition of wealth and power had brought to maturity that latent principle of revolt which inheres in all distant colonial establishments. We admit (with Talleyrand in his excellent Essay on Colonies, and Mr. Baring, also, in his late excellent pamphlet) with all these writers, that independence is a stage at which all distant and prosperous colonies are destined ultimately to arrive. If foresight does not voluntarily relax the ties of the metropolis, force will in time assuredly break them."¹ Three years later even the *Tory Quarterly Review* expressed hesitation regarding the colonial system. This periodical, in reviewing some books on Java, discussed the subject in the following manner: "We beg leave to premise that we are not among those who declaim against the colonial system. . . . But in admitting this (the value of colonies) we must also admit that we may be over-colonized." The author declared that the drain on the population would not be serious, but he questioned the possibility of meeting the expense. He accordingly advocated the voluntary relinquishment of Île de France, Bourbon, Java, and the other Dutch possessions in the East Indies. The same Review in 1816, in discussing the probable independence of South America, generalized in the accepted manner: "Unless the people of the Spanish colonies are made of material different from the rest of the species, we may venture to predict that their final emancipation is an event not very far distant."²

Violent disapproval of the colonial idea continued to appear at the close of the first quarter of the century. In 1830 the *Westminster Review* could say that "colonial dominion has been the bane and curse of the people of this country." In the same year Sir Henry Parnell, whose point of view has been noted above, advocated the relinquishment of colonies, especially of the Ionian Islands, Ceylon, the Cape, Mau-

¹ XIII, 153.

² VI, 496-98, and XIV, 401.

ritius, and Canada. He concluded his suggestions in the following way: "It is clear that, on the whole, the public derives no commercial advantage from colonies which it might not have without them."¹

The opinions of the very influential economist, J. R. McCulloch, whose contributions to the *Edinburgh Review* have already been noted, received an even wider reading in his *Statistical Account of the British Empire*, which appeared in a second edition of two bulky volumes in 1839. This, the best contemporary survey of Great Britain's varied activities, has a misleading title to present-day students of British expansion. Hardly a dozen pages of the fifteen hundred that make up the two volumes are concerned with "Colonies and Dependencies." The author affirms that "our colonies confer on us no direct advantage," since the supposed value of colony trade is largely "imaginary," and because the dependencies are a cause of continual expense to the British nation. In addition to the direct expenditure of about two and a half million pounds, McCulloch would add indirect expenditure through discriminating duties and the outlay on military force to keep them in subjection. The United States is instanced as an illustration of the advantage of relinquishing colonies, while Canada is regarded as a possession which "never has been of advantage to England" and which "in some ten or twenty years will be independent or will be incorporated with the United States." The Canadian Rebellion of 1837, which was undoubtedly in his mind as he penned these words, seemed to give additional point to his earlier statement that England was but paying out money to prepare a colony for the United States: "Certainly John Bull discovers no great impatience of taxation, when he quietly allows his pockets to be drained, in order to clear and fertilize a province for the use of his rival Jonathan."

It should be clear from the opinions that have been called in witness that "men of sense" held colonies to be a questionable good. Where there was not violent opposition there was indifference, an indifference that reformers of the day found

¹ *Quarterly Review*, XLII, 505.

it hard to overcome. Gibbon Wakefield, Wilmot Horton, Joseph Hume, and others complained of this chilling neglect. Lord Stanley, in 1834, even apologized to the House in discussing a subject (the colonies) on which it was so difficult to command its attention.

BEGINNINGS OF A NEW INTEREST

By the close of the reign of George IV, however, a new interest in colonies was already evident. The worth of these distant possessions was conceived, not from the economic point of view or the narrow and unimaginative attitude of the financial reformer and tradesman. The method of approach was that of the philanthropist, interested in the spread of British influence or in the relief of social and industrial conditions at home. It was as a solution of domestic problems that the new belief in the efficacy of colonies developed.

Britain's population had grown rapidly in the days of the Industrial Revolution. About 1750 England had six and a half million inhabitants, which had increased by a million in the preceding hundred years. In the last fifty years of the eighteenth century, two and a half million more had been added. By 1830 five more millions of people brought the population to nearly fourteen millions—double its size seventy-five years before. Along with this had gone the evils attendant upon factory work and concentration in the large cities. Pauperism had increased so seriously during the early nineteenth century that it was an almost constant subject of discussion for those concerned with the welfare of England and its children. A committee of the House of Commons, appointed to consider the poor laws in 1818, found an appalling situation. More than nine tenths of the population were occasionally subsisting on public charity, and the nation was annually taxed for their support over eight million pounds, a sum "larger than its whole revenue in the days of its greatest power and glory."¹

Malthus (who died in 1834) had called attention, at the beginning of the century, to the alarming increase in popu-

¹ *Edinburgh Review*, xxix, 500.

lation. In 1798 and again in 1803 he stated clearly and unreservedly the principle that population at all times tended to outrun subsistence. There could be no permanent amelioration of the conditions of the lower classes so long as the proportion continued to increase at its present rate. A redistribution of wealth might be of value, but in spite of that population would soon overtake subsistence. Starvation would then be the check on further increase.

Emigration naturally occurred as a solution of the distress of the lower classes in Great Britain. Out of this grew a new interest in the colonies for the relief of the conditions at home. Thereupon it was natural to find a fresh stimulus for colonial ideals, since the establishment of new Britains beyond the seas would create a new value for colonial territory. Malthus, himself, held that migration would be inadequate in making room for unrestricted increase, although it might be a temporary relief for the condition in which Great Britain found itself at that time.

In 1812 the *Quarterly Review*, in discussing the poor laws and the increase in population, advocated emigration. "Cast a thought over the map and see what elbow room there is for England. . . . It is time that Britain should become the hive of nations and cast her swarms. What is required of government is to encourage emigration by founding settlements and facilitating means of transportation." Two years later this Review declared: "If the population of our happy and prosperous island goes on increasing as it has done in the last half century, the time cannot be far distant when it may be thought wise policy to encourage emigration by a bounty."¹

One of the early advocates of emigration was Lord Selkirk. In 1792, in a tour of the Highlands, he had found the changing conditions very hard for many of the lower classes of the population. He concluded that emigration was unavoidable and that it should be directed to the British colonies. In 1803 he sent out eight hundred emigrants to Prince Edward Island, a venture that was an unqualified success. In 1810 Lord Selkirk acquired control of the Hudson's Bay

¹ VIII, 355, and XI, 252.

Company, and in the following years sent out the first of his settlers to the Red River Valley (now in Manitoba). This effort at establishing a colony was not so successful as the first, for he met determined opposition from the Northwest Fur Company. With the amalgamation of the two companies in 1821, the country was gradually and peaceably settled.

Lord Selkirk was a remarkable man, who lived somewhat before his time. It was not until the close of the Napoleonic wars that the modern history of emigration from the British Isles began. The movement is one of the most noteworthy in the nineteenth century. But two thousand and eighty-one emigrants left England in 1815; in 1850 over three hundred thousand emigrated. This continually increasing stream sent to various parts of the world the British language and ideas. Many of the emigrants went to the United States and other countries outside the Empire. Great numbers, nevertheless, were directed to the British colonies. It was out of this movement that a new Empire grew.

In 1819 the ministry, alarmed at the distress of the lower classes in England, procured a vote of £50,000 to assist laborers to the Cape of Good Hope. Imperial grants were made in 1821, 1823, and again in 1825 to assist emigrants from Ireland to Canada and the Cape. In 1826 and 1827 committees of the House of Commons considered the problem at great length, recommending that a Board of Emigration be established. The Committee of 1827 reported: "Emigration appears to your Committee to be a remedy well worth consideration, whether with reference to the improved conditions at home, and the saving of that expense which, as it appears to your Committee, is now incurred in the maintaining a portion of them, or with respect to the prosperity of your colonies."¹ The first vote for an Emigration Establishment was in 1834.

Wilmot Horton, who became Under-Secretary of State for War and the Colonies in 1822, was responsible for a good deal of this governmental interest in emigration. His aim was to

¹ Mills, *Colonization of Australia*, p. 41.

free England of its surplus population and at the same time to furnish laborers to the colonies needing them. Horton believed that this would strengthen the bonds between the mother country and its dependencies, especially Canada. His scheme, which was confined to the shipment of paupers, was to be aided and controlled by the State. The grants of 1823 and 1825 were for the purpose of settling paupers in Canada and the Cape. Three hundred and fifty laborers were sent to the Cape and about six hundred Irish paupers to Canada. In 1827 two thousand more were sent to British North America. Horton was chairman of the Committee of 1826 and also of that of 1827. In 1828 and again in 1830 he introduced bills in the House of Commons to enable parishes to send "able-bodied paupers" to British colonies. In 1831 he was knighted and made Governor of Ceylon. When he returned to England in 1839, the work of the "systematic" colonizers was already under way.

EDWARD GIBBON WAKEFIELD

The man chiefly responsible for creating the new interest in the colonial Empire was Edward Gibbon Wakefield. He was born in 1796. In 1816 he had married a ward in chancery, who died in 1820, leaving him two children. Six years later he made another runaway match with an heiress whom he lured from school. As a result he was arrested and sentenced to three years' imprisonment in Newgate. Quite naturally he was an object of suspicion, and his work was always hindered by the burden of his early misdeeds.

Wakefield's imprisonment was a turning-point in his career. While in Newgate he became interested in the colonies, possibly as a result of his contact with paupers and convicts. At any rate, in 1829 he wrote eleven letters to the *Morning Chronicle* which were republished in book form under the title *A Letter from Sydney . . . together with the Outlines of a System of Colonization*. So vivid were the letters that they seemed the work of an inhabitant of New South Wales. In them the colonist pictured his difficulties to the people in the homeland. With plenty of land he was hin-

dered in its development by the lack of labor; the convicts were not entirely satisfactory in this regard. Laborers coming from England were lured away by the opportunity of having land of their own, as it was obtainable very easily. The main hindrance to the growth of the colony, therefore, was the scarcity of labor. To remedy this the *Letter from Sydney* proposed what came to be known as "systematic colonization," a method by which the prosperity of the colonies would be assured.

Wakefield's scheme, however, was intended to solve much more than the labor problem of a colony. A manufacturing country, such as England, would obtain a cheap grain supply by the use of labor in colonial fields, and there would be furnished for the manufacturer a larger market for his goods. In reply to those who disparaged colonies by saying that an independent country was as good a market as a colony, he declared that there did not exist sufficient available markets in independent states. In consequence, new colonies must be founded and old ones extended. The plan was also supposed to solve the difficulty of excess population that was felt so seriously at that time in Great Britain. Competition for employment would be relieved and the poor rate for paupers would be lessened as well. He showed, in addition, that colonization furnished a field for capital that was not at that time profitably employed at home.

Just what was his plan and why did it seem so attractive? To remedy the scarcity of colonial labor he proposed that the land in the colonies be sold instead of given away. The land was to be valued at a "sufficient" price, so that the laborers coming to the colony would be compelled to work for wages for a time with the prospect of owning land later. It was intended by this proposal to keep a correct relation between land and labor. Under such conditions colonial capitalists would pay the cost of an emigrant's passage, and emigrating capitalists would bring laborers. The revenue resulting from land sales was to become an emigration fund, which, however, was not to be used unsystematically. The haphazard shipping of paupers and convicts to the colonies was to cease.

Emigrants were to be selected in such a way as to take from the mother country and introduce into the colony the greatest amount of population and labor at the least cost. He considered that young married couples should be given the preference.

Gibbon Wakefield had pronounced views also regarding the political relation of colonies to the home Government. Indeed they were nothing less than revolutionary, for he advocated colonial self-government. The numerous evils centering in the Colonial Office he assigned to the arbitrary system of "government from a distance." He blamed the loss of the American colonies on the attempt to deprive them of their "municipal" right of government and to substitute for it the "central" principle of administration from the distant center of the Empire. His proposal was a return to the system by which the American colonies had been governed before the "tightening" policy was inaugurated in 1763. It would be cheap, the people would rule themselves well in their own interests, colonies would thereby become attractive to emigrants, and they would gradually acquire the means for their own protection. The theory of Gibbon Wakefield was strange indeed. Colonies were to be fostered and given an honorable place in the Empire. Colonists were to be proud of their work and of their place. A new spirit was to be breathed into the colonial Empire of Great Britain.

Wakefield published anonymously in 1833 a book entitled *England and America*, which developed his ideas with greater care. In 1849 he issued his final work, *A View of the Art of Colonization*. Besides these volumes many magazine articles appeared from his facile pen.

This remarkable thinker was not alone in fostering these ideas, for he inspired an able group of followers who contributed much to the spread of the new conceptions. His most intimate helper was Charles Buller. A man of ability and power, he was elected to Parliament on the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832, representing Liskeard from that time until his death in 1848. Buller was a strong reformer of the group known as the Philosophical Radicals. When Lord

Durham went on his mission to Canada in 1837 he chose Buller as his chief assistant.¹ In 1840 Buller published *Responsible Government for Colonies*. Another important member of this group was Sir William Molesworth, who entered Parliament in 1832 as a Philosophical Radical. In 1837 he acted as chairman of the Transportation Committee and wrote a report that created considerable discussion. His great aim was to further self-government in the colonies, and he always insisted that it was consonant with a close relation to the mother country. His advice in 1838 to the House of Commons was: "Do not 'emancipate your colonies'; but multiply and improve them — reform your ideas of colonial government."²

Another important supporter of the Wakefield system was John Stuart Mill. George Grote, the historian, is to be included in this group as well. R. S. Rintoul, the editor of the *Spectator* (but recently founded), made his publication the organ of the systematic colonizers. Jeremy Bentham, shortly before his death in 1832, became convinced of the value of the Wakefield theory. Sir Rowland Hill, later so famous as the author of the penny postal system, became secretary in 1832 of Wakefield's company for colonizing South Australia. Lord Howick, afterwards the third Earl Grey and Colonial Secretary from 1845 to 1852, was an early convert.

SYSTEMATIC COLONIZATION

In 1830 the group, of whom Wakefield was the center, formed the National Colonization Society "to establish a general system of colonization, founded on the main principles of Selection, Concentration, and the sale of Waste Land, for the purposes of Emigration." It had an uphill struggle. Yet the society zealously issued pamphlets and agitated for their particular theory and for a general interest in the colonies. In 1831, through the influence of Lord Howick, the Colonization Society was successful in bringing about the

¹ See below, pp. 225 ff.

² Quoted in *King's College Lectures*, p. 157.

appointment of an Emigration Commission. Regulations regarding the sale of waste lands were put in force, the income to be used as an emigration fund. During the next four years £42,000 was expended and nearly three thousand women emigrants were assisted. In 1837 an Agent-General for Emigration was appointed to superintend this whole matter for all the colonies. In 1840 a new Land and Emigration Board was created, whose instructions conformed rather closely to the Wakefield theory. In 1842 the sale of the Australian public lands became obligatory. Charles Buller's connection with the Durham mission to Canada has already been noticed. Wakefield, also, went with the mission; though in no official capacity, he exercised a strong influence on this very important report, by which responsible government was recommended for the colony and in which the questions of land and emigration occupy important places.

It was not only by propaganda and by influence on legislation that the systematic colonizers showed their effectiveness; they furthered colonization plans of their own. In seeking for a site on which to carry out their ideas they avoided New South Wales on account of the transportation of convicts to Botany Bay. South Australia was selected as the location for their practical experiment. The home Government was hostile, but after four years of waiting a bill authorizing the plan went through Parliament, and in 1836 the colony was founded at Adelaide. South Australia was not successful in the beginning in the sense that it was self-supporting, but the expense was largely the result of carelessness in controlling the venture, for which Wakefield and his plan were not to blame. By 1843 it was in a prosperous condition.¹

A further result of the Wakefield movement was the establishment of colonies in New Zealand. As the Government refused to sanction the plan to colonize this unclaimed territory, the New Zealand Land Company, under the active direction of Wakefield, determined in 1839 to go ahead without governmental sanction, on the ground that New Zealand

¹ See chapter xv for a detailed consideration of this experiment.

was a no man's land. In 1840 a treaty was made with the natives just in time to forestall French efforts to possess what has proved to be one of the most important of Britain's colonial possessions. It was settled on a system of land sales and assisted emigration. Wakefield spent the last years of his life as a New Zealand citizen, dying at Wellington in 1862.¹

A great change had come in colonial affairs by the agitation and work of these reformers in the two decades following the Reform Bill of 1832. Transportation was brought into disfavor and largely discontinued. Old colonies were invigorated and new colonies established. Emigration of a superior class of settlers was assisted. Self-government became the accepted ideal for colonies of British stock. Above all, there was a revival of the colonizing spirit and of colonial interests on the part of the British public. Thus a great change was brought about in British colonial policy. Colonists were no longer so vastly underrated politically and socially as they had been in the days gone by. Charles Buller expressed this change in 1843, when he said: "A colonial career is now looked upon as one of the careers open to a gentleman." In our study of the particular parts of the Empire we shall find many men of distinguished name and ability dedicating their services to colonial development.

Yet it must not be forgotten that an interest in a colonial empire was by no means universal, even by the middle of the nineteenth century. During the whole of Queen Victoria's reign there were two currents of opinion with regard to the lands oversea. During the first half of the century the anti-imperialists — later dubbed "little Englanders" — were strong. The grant of self-government to the dominions and the increasing English-speaking populations in the oversea possessions, in addition to the growing attractiveness of empire to all the European nations in the years following the opening-up of Africa, led to a remarkable change of sentiment. In the later days of Queen Victoria's reign imperial problems were to become more and more engrossing.²

¹ See pp. 252 ff.

² See chapter xvii for the evolution of this colonial interest.

As a result of the change of sentiment traced in this chapter, a new Empire has taken the place of the old one so badly discredited by the experiences of the eighteenth century. The history of the English-speaking people is no longer an account of what happens in the southern half of an island adjacent to the European continent. It is not even the record of the complex life of Great Britain as a whole. Great Britain has evolved into a greater Britain, whose world-empire is the largest yet created on the globe. The history of the British Isles is henceforth intimately bound up with that of its distant possessions. Therefore, it is our next task to turn to the various parts of the expanding Britain to examine the way in which they evolve under the new conceptions.

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British Colonies (5 vols., London, 1834), by R. Montgomery Martin. This extensive work is based on a personal knowledge of many of the colonies, and was published with the ardent desire to make evident the intrinsic worth of the colonies "which is neither understood nor appreciated by the mass of the people."

CHAPTER XII

THE SPREAD OF BRITISH POWER IN INDIA

THE Battle of Plassey, won by Clive in 1757, is usually regarded as the initial step in the rapid growth of British dominion in the Indian peninsula. In a former chapter the events leading to this decisive contest have been narrated.¹ French and English competition had produced military conflict and encouraged intrigue with the native rulers. Before the Battle of Plassey, the British had been concerned largely with coastal holdings, the most important of which were Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta. The East India Company was interested in commerce; it must not be forgotten that the military exploits of Clive in the Carnatic and Bengal had been for a commercial company. With the victory of Plassey was to come a change. When the British replaced the defeated Nawab by a puppet of their own, Mir Jafar, greater trading privileges were obtained in Bengal. No other development seems to have been anticipated.

LORD CLIVE

To Clive British penetration meant much more; he conceived the idea of placing this territory directly under the rule of the Company. Although this scheme was not carried out at the time, it later became inevitable. Nominally the Nawab of Bengal was the ruler, but he held his position at the good will of the British. The Company felt that, if it withdrew, French or Dutch traders would assume a like relation to the native power. Yet, on the other hand, if the British continued in control, the *status quo* could not remain. Pride, ambition, the prospect of further gain, all counseled an advance, for the internal situation of the country was such that the expanding trade of the Company and the foreign interests of Bengal forced either complete withdrawal or further penetration and a larger measure of control.

¹ See pp. 92 ff.

Before the story of British expansion is studied, there should be a clear understanding of the political characteristics of India in 1757, as the peculiar situation in the peninsula conditioned the measure of success attained by the Company's servants.¹ Back in 1526 Babar had founded a great Mogul Empire, including much of India and centering in the valley of the Ganges with Delhi as the capital. In the first half of the eighteenth century this imposing edifice had fallen to pieces. There were various reasons for the collapse. The Emperors did not show the ability of the earlier representatives of the royal line. The attempt to control the Deccan — the southern part of the peninsula — was too great a strain on the imperial resources. The Hindus themselves developed strong military power in opposition to their oppressors, and, as a result, there grew up great provinces in this unwieldy Empire, forming for all practical purposes independent states. In the Deccan the Nizam of Haidarabad had become the principal ruler. Below the Nizam's territories was the state of Mysore, and along the eastern coast stretched the Carnatic, in which Madras was located. In northern India as well, independent states had emerged. West of Delhi, Rajputana under its Indian princes had been practically independent since 1715. In the central Ganges valley to the east of the imperial capital lay the territory of Oudh with its teeming population and the important cities of Cawnpore and Lucknow; it had been autonomous under its Nawab since about 1730. Still farther to the east, near the mouth of the Ganges, was Bengal, still nominally under the Mogul. The eastern coast of India, between Bengal and the Carnatic, was divided into two principal parts; south of Bengal stretched Orissa and between Orissa and the Carnatic lay the Northern Circars — territories that early became British.

One of the principal causes for the absolute decrepitude of the Mogul Emperor was the invasion of Nadir Shah, the Persian monarch. In 1736 the Shah had annexed Afghanistan to his dominions, and thus had brought his possessions into touch with the Mogul Empire. In 1739 he invaded India;

¹ See pp. 88 ff.

the capital, Delhi, was captured by the victorious Persians and given over to massacre and plunder. The government and all wealthy persons were systematically robbed of their riches. The immense booty, including the celebrated peacock throne, was taken back through the Afghan passes. Among the rewards of victory were jewels of inestimable value, plate, furniture, elephants, and camels, besides a treasure in money estimated as equivalent to eight or nine millions of sterling. Not one but six such invasions were endured, and, as a result, no vitality was left in the imposing Empire of Babar and Jahangir.

Hardly less weakening than foreign invasion was the emergence in central India during the seventeenth century of a powerful military race known as the Marathas. At the time that Clive was conquering Bengal they had under their control most of central India from the Nizam's dominions in the south to Oudh and Rajputana in the north, and from Bombay in the west to Orissa on the eastern coast. These peasant soldiers, derisively called by one of the Emperors "the mountain rats of the Deccan," were such remarkable warriors that their sway spread over central India like an uncontrollable pestilence. Under their leader Sivaji, who died in 1680, the Marathas had established *chauth*, or blackmail, over much of the Mogul territory; one fourth of the revenue of subjected states was theirs on condition that they protected the territory from further spoliation. In the twenty years preceding the Battle of Plassey they had been particularly successful, obtaining the cession of Malwa (south of Delhi), Gujerat, which lay north of Surat on the west coast, as well as Orissa on the east coast. In 1751 they had even been granted an imperial tribute from Bengal.¹ The holdings of this race had

¹ Even the British in Calcutta felt the Maratha menace, as the country about the trading-post was harried by these marauders. The Hugli River was a sufficient protection on the western side, and there were morasses to the east of the town; but the danger of an attack on the landward side led the inhabitants to measures of defense. In 1742 they began to dig a semi-circular moat at the back of the town which followed the course of the modern Circular Road. Its ends were to reach the river, but it was never completed along the southern boundary. The purpose of the moat is preserved in its name; it was called the "Maratha Ditch."

already broken into groups when the British came into contact with them. It was this process, so similar to that working in the Mogul Empire as a whole that at a later date was to aid the British in the subjection of the Marathas. Even so, they were to prove the most troublesome obstacle to British expansion.

Such was the political situation in India when Clive won the Battle of Plassey in 1757 and found himself in practical control of Bengal. Mir Jafar was made Nawab, but he served as a figurehead, with Clive as the real ruler for the East India Company. His immense energy and indomitable will had made the British supreme in the lower Ganges valley as far as the southern boundary of Oudh.

The way this newly won power was used was not altogether to the credit of the Company or of its servants. There was no thought of improving the condition of the country, but of extracting as much of its supposedly fabulous wealth as could be done by fair or questionable means. The money gained was tribute from a subject nawab and province, resembling the Marathas *chauth* in fact if not in name. Before Plassey it was agreed that the army and navy should be given £400,000 and that £120,000 should go to the Select Committee of six persons. The battle won, the task of inquiring into the state of the Nawab's treasury, so deeply interesting to the victors, was attended to with all diligence. Although the amount found was below expectations, Clive received in all for his personal gratuity £234,000 and other members of the Company from £50,000 to £80,000. But Clive was not satisfied. Mir Jafar obtained from the Emperor for Clive the title of *Omrah* or noble, with which it was customary to grant a *jagir* or land revenue when such a title was given. At first Clive did not receive the *jagir*, but on demanding it he was granted the enormous annual revenue of £20,000 as a quit rent for lands south of Calcutta. Thus the servant of the Company became its landlord.¹

¹ In this curious transaction is found one more similarity between the career of Dupleix and Clive. Dupleix had obtained a *jagir* in the days of his prosperity, and had garnered immense wealth for himself and his relatives. Shameless corruption was not confined to the servants of the English Company. A

After Clive left for England in 1760, the system of "bleeding" the country was unblushingly continued. Mir Jafar was soon deposed in favor of a successor, who granted further districts and additional gratuities. In 1763 Mir Jafar was restored, with more financial advantages for the British. This tool of the British died in 1765 just as Clive was returning to exercise his second governorship. In England rewards had been freely granted to Clive; an Irish peerage and a position in Parliament, in addition to a number of rotten boroughs he had purchased, made him an important personage. On his return to India he reformed as best he could the corrupt system under which he had waxed wealthy, acting with integrity as the Company's servant. He also acquired for the Company during this period the *diwani* or right to collect and administer all the revenues of Bengal. The collection was made by natives under British supervision and the charges of the government of the Nawab were defrayed by an annual fixed payment. It was the first real step toward territorial dominion, but it meant power without responsibility and thus left the way open to much abuse.

In 1767 Clive returned to England broken in health. Five years later, when the Company was in bad financial condition, two committees of the House of Commons inquired into Indian affairs. Colonel Burgoyne at that time moved that Robert Clive had abused the power with which he was intrusted to the evil example of the servants of the public and to the dishonor and detriment of the state."¹ Clive was finally exonerated and a unanimous vote was recorded to the effect that "Robert Clive rendered great and meritorious services to his country." Clive, brooding over the attacks made on him, and with a name not altogether unspotted, took his own life in 1774. Though his acts would not receive the approbation of a later age and were not altogether

though it is no justification of the British, it is certainly true that the French had shown the way in this as in many other particulars.

¹ Before the Committee, Clive defended himself on the ground that he deserved restraint: "Am I not rather deserving of praise for the moderation which marked my proceedings? . . . Mr. Chairman, at this moment I stand astonished at my own moderation."

up to the expected standard of his own day, it must be admitted that he made possible an Indian Empire for Great Britain, acting, as he undoubtedly believed, in the interests of the Company and his country.

WARREN HASTINGS

The next important Governor of Bengal was Warren Hastings; from 1772 to 1785 he was the Company's chief servant in India. His acts were subject to even more serious attacks than were those of Clive, but later students of Indian history have been inclined to regard the assaults made upon him as excessive in their severity. If Clive made the Indian Empire possible, Hastings laid its real foundations.

His most important work was in the Ganges valley, for with his reforms in that part of India we have the beginning of a civil administration. The dual system of Clive for collecting the revenue had proved a failure; henceforth the taxes were not only collected but also expended by the Company. A Board of Revenue was established, and the treasury was transferred from the native capital to Calcutta. Hastings also set up courts of appeal in Bengal.

It was during his administration that an important revision of the rules of Indian government was effected by the Regulating Act of Lord North. The inquiry leading to the attack on Clive resulted from the evident need of more careful scrutiny of the Company's work in the Far East. As we have found, the Company was practically bankrupt; in 1772 Lord North was told that unless the Company could obtain a state loan of one million pounds it could not continue in business. In the next year the Government granted a measure of assistance to the Company by allowing a drawback on the duty on tea reshipped to the American colonies. It was in consequence of this attempt to help the Company that the good people of Boston indulged in a "Tea Party" as a prelude to the American Revolution.

The Regulating Act granted a new constitution. The Governor-General of Bengal was to be assisted by four councillors, and in their decisions the majority was to decide the

action to be taken. The Governor-General and his Council were to superintend the other presidencies in their relations to the native powers. All correspondence dealing with the revenues was to be laid by the Directors before the Treasury. In addition, a Supreme Court of Judicature was set up at Calcutta. Although the Act left the Nawab of Bengal titular head, it made more definite the governmental control of the Company. The councilors sent out under the new system were critical and suspicious of Hastings, greatly hampering his administration by their obstructive tactics and later leading to his famous impeachment.

The only addition to the British territory during the Hastings administration was that of the country about Benares, which was obtained from Oudh. But Hastings' foreign policy and accomplishments were important, nevertheless. The Emperor, who had been given by Clive some territory for his personal support, in the meantime came under Maratha control. Hastings promptly discontinued the subsidies formerly sent to the puppet and ceded to Oudh the lands that the Emperor had been granted by Clive. This close relationship established with Oudh led to British assistance for that country when it fought the Rohilla War with the Mohammedans who controlled the territory of Rohilkhand. By this act a precedent was set up whereby British assistance might be furnished in a quarrel among the natives.

In western and southern India Hastings made his influence felt also, for as Governor-General he had supervisory power in Bombay and Madras. In these parts of India the British suffered much from too great an interest in Indian political matters. To this was joined bad diplomacy and mismanagement. In the west Bombay determined to become the master of the Maratha court at Poona. The result is known as the First Maratha War. In the beginning of this conflict the Marathas were successful. In spite of several brilliant military feats by the British forces, the British were unable to obtain more than the *status quo*, when peace was concluded in 1781. The Maratha powers were to remain at peace with the British for the next twenty years.

In the south the trouble was more serious. Tactless action of the Madras authorities led to the union of Mysore, Haidarabad, and the Marathas under the lead of Haidar Ali of Mysore. The conflict that resulted (1780-84) is known as the First Mysore War. In 1780 Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic, fell into Haidar Ali's possession and the territory about Madras was given over to pillage. Under the vigorous guidance of Hastings, however, the British position was retrieved. Sir Eyre Coote, the victor of Wandewash, was sent to the relief of Madras. In 1782 Haidar Ali died, and two years later his son Tipu concluded peace.

All this was expensive; the Company, which had formerly been prosperous under Hastings' leadership, faced bankruptcy. As a result, the Governor-General was involved in measures for obtaining money that brought about his impeachment. As early as 1773 charges of defalcation had been brought against Warren Hastings. The most famous accusation was made by Nandkumar (Nuncomar), a Brahman. Shortly afterward Nandkumar was arrested on a charge of forgery that was made by a Calcutta merchant; as a result of the trial he was condemned and executed. In spite of the surprising coincidence of his accuser having been in turn accused and executed, Hastings seems to have been guiltless of any connection with the trial of Nandkumar.

In 1778, when war began with the French, Hastings endeavored to improve the financial situation by levying a war contribution from the Raja of Benares, Chait Singh. The Raja was finally banished and his successor compelled to pay a heavier tribute than that demanded in the first instance. The most famous case, however, that grew out of Hastings' financial measures was that of the princesses of Oudh, known as the Begums. Oudh was paying tribute to the Company, but was badly in arrears. The Nawab, as an explanation and a solution of his financial condition, complained that his mother and grandmother, the Begums, held large landed estates and a valuable treasure of the late Nawab. Hastings consented to the Nawab's request that the treasure be seized for the debt of the Company. This act was an abrogation

of a treaty, and in the taking of the treasure the Nawab was assisted by British troops.

For these and other alleged acts of oppression Warren Hastings was put on trial in 1788, three years after his return from India. Burke, Fox, and Sheridan were the leaders in an impeachment so bitterly prosecuted that the philippics of these famous orators have hardly been excelled for bitterness. The trial dragged on until 1795 when Hastings was acquitted on all the articles. It is true that the great Governor-General was compelled to take an aggressive attitude and that his methods undoubtedly bordered on the unscrupulous. Although he was acquitted, it became more evident than ever that the system of Indian administration needed to be thoroughly overhauled. In judging both Clive and Hastings it must be remembered that these two remarkable men were working for a trading Company primarily intent on financial gain.

The close of Hastings' administration corresponded with the end of the war of the American Revolution and the beginning of Pitt's long control of British politics. One of the first reform acts of Pitt was the improvement of the Indian administration. In 1783 Charles James Fox, during a brief tenure of office, had proposed an India Bill which was so thoroughgoing that it would have ended once for all the power of the East India Company. The measure passed the Commons successfully, but suffered defeat in the upper house largely through a royal influence that would now be regarded as unconstitutional. By Pitt's India Act of 1784 the East India Company was more than ever subordinated to the State. Civil and military matters were to be handled by a Board of Control, consisting of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, one of the Secretaries of State, and four Privy Councilors. The Proprietors of the Company were to be unable to modify the action of the Board. In India authority was granted to the Governor-General and his Council of three.¹

¹ See pp. 111-13.

LORD CORNWALLIS

For the fourteen years following the India Act of Pitt there was very little growth of British power in the peninsula. This is the result of two Governors-General who were interested more in the matter of internal reform than in the assimilation of new territory. The first was Lord Cornwallis, well known for his part in the American Revolution. He was a man of high character, of no personal ambitions, and free from the love of money. In 1786 he was persuaded to assume the government of India; a special bill was passed by Parliament giving him extraordinary powers. As one who had not spent his life laboring for the Company, it was felt that he could and would bring in the reform measures so much in demand. With him the old system of plunder practically ceased. He proved the enemy of all that was underhanded and questionable, substituting for commissions, generous salaries at a fixed amount, and separating the executive from the judicial function.

Cornwallis is remembered especially for the Permanent Settlement of the revenue in Bengal. From 1786 to 1789 he and Sir John Shore studied the problem. A settlement was made in 1789 which was declared permanent in 1793, a settlement that has aroused much discussion as to its real value. The *zamindars*, or government farmers, were recognized as having the right to collect revenue from the actual cultivators of the soil. The amount to be paid by them to the Company was fixed, while the amounts they collected varied. It tended to make the *zamindars* a landed aristocracy, a position that they had not always occupied, and deprived the village communities and peasant cultivators of their privileges. The lower classes did not receive real relief from this system until the Bengal Land Act of 1859. Cornwallis did important work, also, in elaborating the system of law courts begun by Hastings.

In his relations to the independent Indian governments he followed the recommendations from England to "avoid schemes of conquest and the extension of dominion in India."

Nevertheless, he was forced into war with Tipu, the ruler of Mysore. Even Cornwallis found neutrality impossible. The Second Mysore War lasted from 1790 to 1792. Tipu began the war by attacking an ally of the Company, the Raja of Travancore, the ruler of a small state at the extreme south-western end of the peninsula. Haidarabad and the Marathas joined Cornwallis, who led the army in person. Tipu submitted when his capital, Seringapatam, was endangered, and arranged a treaty of peace by which he gave a large indemnity to his enemies, and surrendered half of his dominions. The three allies divided the territory; the third received by the British included strategic points by which Mysore was effectually crippled. Another war, unfortunately, was necessary to bring this troublesome state to terms.

In 1793 Cornwallis was succeeded by Sir John Shore, who had assisted in the settlement of the Bengal revenue. He carried the policy of neutrality, or timidity as expansionists would term it, to the extreme. The native states took courage from his inactivity, and as he left office in 1798, the country was on the eve of a storm, the more serious because it had been delayed.

LORD WELLESLEY

The expansion of British power was resumed with the governor-generalship of Lord Wellesley, the older brother of the better known Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington. He stands beside Clive and Hastings in the importance of his work. Where they had laboriously laid the foundations, he built consciously with brilliant success; in seven years the British Company became the predominant power in India. Wellesley was masterful and self-confident, ideally fitted to take control of Indian affairs when the policy of non-interference was proving difficult. His aggressive military policy was governed in large part by the contemporary world-situation. The French Revolution had opened in 1789, and France and Great Britain had been at war since 1793. Napoleon was just rising to power as a great military leader; already he was dreaming of an empire in the East. Wellesley carried to

India the imperial point of view and the fear of Napoleonic and French ambition, then so important in British thinking.

He first dealt with Mysore. Tipu smarted under his defeat at the hands of Cornwallis, and in the interregnum he sought allies with whom to attack his arch-enemy, the British. Emissaries were sent to Arabia, Constantinople, Kabul, and Mauritius. The emissaries to Mauritius returned with the promise of a French alliance for the purpose of freeing India from British rule. Tipu planted a liberty tree, became a member of the Jacobin Club, and was the proud bearer of the title "Citizen Tipu." When his intrigues with the French became known, Wellesley promptly attacked him. In the Third Mysore War a single campaign was decisive. Tipu was compelled to retire to his capital, which was stormed. The ruler of Mysore was killed in the attack, and his kingdom was left at the mercy of his conquerors. A child of the Hindu royal family of Mysore — the family dispossessed by Tipu's father — was placed on the throne of a greatly restricted possession; the Nizam, the Marathas, and the British divided the rest.

Wellesley's chief task was the humbling of the Marathas. We have already noted the wide extent of their possessions in central India, their very efficient military power, and their disdain of the apparently weak British rule. At the time that Wellesley came into conflict with them they were not united, but consisted of independent confederate states. The descendants of Sivaji, the great Maratha chief of the seventeenth century, still dwelt near Bombay. All power had long passed from this line of rulers into that of the Prime Minister or Peshwa. The Peshwa dwelt at Poona, some hundred miles southwest of Bombay, where his territories formed a broad belt of land along the west coast.

In other parts of the Maratha dominions there were chiefs nominally dependent on the Peshwa, but actually self-governing. Three hereditary generals of the Peshwa — originally given lands as a reward for military service — were the principal Maratha lords in addition to the Peshwa. The Bhonsla, Raja of Berar, ruled just north of Haidarabad. North of his

territories were those of Holkar of Indore, while still farther toward the Ganges valley were the possessions of Sindhia. In Gujerat, north of Surat, ruled the Gaekwar of Baroda. Sindhia was the outstanding leader of the Marathas of this time. He ruled in the upper Ganges valley by virtue of a finely disciplined army, including in his control at this time Delhi and the person of the Mogul Emperor. The Emperor had made Sindhia the vicegerent of the Empire.

When the ruler at Poona died in 1800, Sindhia and Holkar immediately endeavored to add to their possessions from the territory of the Peshwa. The new Peshwa thereupon fled to Bassein and appealed to the British for aid. At the close of 1802 the British entered into treaty relations with the nominal ruler of the Marathas. The Peshwa was restored to his capital by British troops and henceforth the state's foreign policy was to be in British hands. The treaty had an immediate effect on the Maratha chieftains; the Bhonsla and Sindhia combined in a Maratha struggle for independence. The Second Maratha War that resulted was one of the most brilliant fought in India. Simultaneous campaigns were carried on both in the Deccan and Hindustan, in Gujerat and Orissa. Arthur Wellesley, afterwards the Duke of Wellington, won a great victory at Assaye in the Deccan in 1803. At the same time Lake in the north captured Delhi and brought the aged Mogul Emperor once more into the hands of the British. In Gujerat and Orissa the successes were equally outstanding. In four months the Maratha confederacy was utterly defeated.

As a result of the war the person of the Emperor came into British control. In addition, Sindhia renounced his claims to the lands north of the Jumna, the important southern tributary of the Ganges. The Bhonsla ceded Orissa on the east coast to the British and Berar to the Nizam of Haidarabad. British residents were accepted at the courts of Sindhia and Holkar, and they became nominal allies of the British. They remained unsubdued, however, and the sullen resentment and bitter hatred of these native leaders were to result in one more Maratha war before their power was destroyed.

Lord Wellesley proved altogether too imperialistic for the Directors and he was recalled in 1805. His constant military operations had increased the Company's debt from seven to thirty-one millions of pounds during his governorship. With his return a reaction from the policy of annexation and consolidation was expressed in the brief administration of Cornwallis in 1805 and in those of his successors, Sir George Barlow and the Earl of Minto.

THE MARQUESS OF HASTINGS

The reaction from the Wellesley policy was concluded when Lord Moira, later the Marquess of Hastings, became Governor-General in 1814. After a nine years' interval he completed the work of Lord Wellesley. During his administration three groups of Indian peoples felt the British power — the Gurkhas, the Pindaris, and the Marathas.

The Gurkhas, who claimed a Rajput origin, occupied Nepal, a strip of territory about one hundred and thirty miles broad stretching along the Himalayas to the north of Bengal and Oudh. About the middle of the eighteenth century they conquered Nepal, but since they were a warlike people they found the limits of Nepal altogether too straitening. As they raided the country to the south they inevitably came into conflict with the British. In 1814 there began a war between them and the British, which was very stubbornly fought by these hill people. When peace was concluded they lost a few of their territories and a British resident was established at the capital. Since that day they have given the British no trouble.

The Pindaris were making central India a place of anarchy. Originally they were connected with the Maratha armies as irregulars and skirmishers. They consisted of outcasts and desperados of all races and with no common religion.¹ The

¹ The Pindaris have not inaptly been compared to the free companies of mediæval Europe. Readers familiar with European history will already have noted the feudal character of Indian government. The Peshwa reminds one of the *major domus* of the Merovingians, and the Maratha chieftains of the rulers of the early English kingdoms under the loose overlordship of one of their number.

Pindaris were located principally in Malwa, but extended their operations far and wide in central India. In 1815 and 1816 they plundered the Nizam's lands and laid waste the Northern Circars, belonging to the British. Hastings gathered an army of over one hundred thousand to crush them. The Marathas were overawed temporarily while the Pindaris were being hunted down and brought under control.

In 1817, the year that the Pindaris were overcome, the Marathas rose for their final duel with the growing British power. The Bhonsla, Holkar, and the Peshwa joined in the rebellion. Brilliant military operations resulted in the defeat of the Marathas in the third and last war with this, the most stubborn of native peoples. Holkar lost half of his dominions. The office of the Peshwa was abolished and his territory was formed into the Bombay Presidency. At the same time the Rajput states accepted a feudal relation to the British power. It was decidedly for the advance of civil conditions in India that marauders and professional fighters such as the Gurkhas, the Pindaris, and the Marathas were at last rendered harmless.

This period of expansion is completed by the governor-generalship of Earl Amherst. He succeeded the Marquess of Hastings in 1823 and ruled for five years. The further expansion made during this administration was to the north-east in Burma. The boundary between British Bengal and these non-Indian territories was ill defined. The Tibetan stock that had conquered this country in the valley of the Irrawaddy was warlike and very confident of its ability to fight a successful war with the British. The unwillingness of the British administration to come to an issue with them led to a belief among the Burmese that they could conquer Bengal. In 1824 they encroached on British territory. The war that ensued was slowly carried on at great expense, for Amherst did not exhibit the ability of Wellesley or Hastings. Twenty thousand lives were sacrificed before the treaty was signed in 1826. The King of Ava — just below Mandalay — ceded two coast provinces, withdrew from Assam, and permitted a British resident at his court, besides paying a large indemnity.

This is a convenient point from which to make a survey of the accomplishments of sixty years. The period was one of rapid expansion broken by stretches of inactivity. Beginning as a rival of the French and Dutch companies, the British East India Company enlarged its work to include the control of revenue in the restricted districts. This led inevitably to the assumption of political power. Yet when this step had been taken, it meant that there must be a definite attitude toward the independent Indian states, and a policy of protecting the states already occupied. In the safeguarding of the territories already under control it was often felt that an aggressive foreign policy was the best one. The guarding of British territory could also be insured by means of alliances. All these measures complicated the problem by the natural extension of British interest and power. And thus it happened that in sixty years a great peninsula composed of many peoples and races and religions and governments was brought under a dominant British rule. It is all the more amazing when we realize that this expansion took place at a time when the idea of empire was at a low ebb in Britain.

In spite of this apparent contradiction, the conquest of India must not be thought of as an accident; possession resulted from the business acumen of a Company whose servants were intent on realizing as large dividends as possible from this El Dorado of the East. The student of colonization is reminded of the work of the Spanish *conquistadores* in America. Whether or not Great Britain was wise in extending its power in India is another question. Suffice it to say that by 1828 the British had a great composite problem on their hands, for a large part of the Indian peninsula had come into British control. The next task was to organize the government for the good of the governed.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

In the Bibliographical Note for chapter vi are given books on India that continue to be of value. Brief biographies of all the important governors-general will be found in "The Rulers of India" series, edited by Sir W. W. Hunter. The reading of these short biographies is an excellent way to

understand the working of the Indian administration and the growth of British dominion. The careers of Clive and Hastings have naturally evoked considerable treatment, often of a biased character. There is an excellent life of Clive by G. B. Malleson (1895). *The Life of Lord Clive* by Sir George Forrest (2 vols., London, 1918) is detailed, fully documented, and laudatory. Among the more recent treatments is Henry Dodwell's *Dupleix and Clive* (London, 1920). For Warren Hastings notice should be made of John Strachey, *Hastings and the Rohilla War* (Oxford, 1892), Sir Alfred Lyall, *Warren Hastings* (London, 1902), S. C. Grier, *The Great Proconsul* (London, 1904), G. W. Hastings, *Vindication of Warren Hastings* (London, 1909), and M. E. Monckton Jones, *Warren Hastings in Bengal, 1772-1774* (Oxford, 1918). An excellent source-book is that of Ramsay Muir, *The Making of British India, 1756-1858* (Manchester, 1915).

CHAPTER XIII

THE COMPLETION OF BRITISH DOMINION IN INDIA

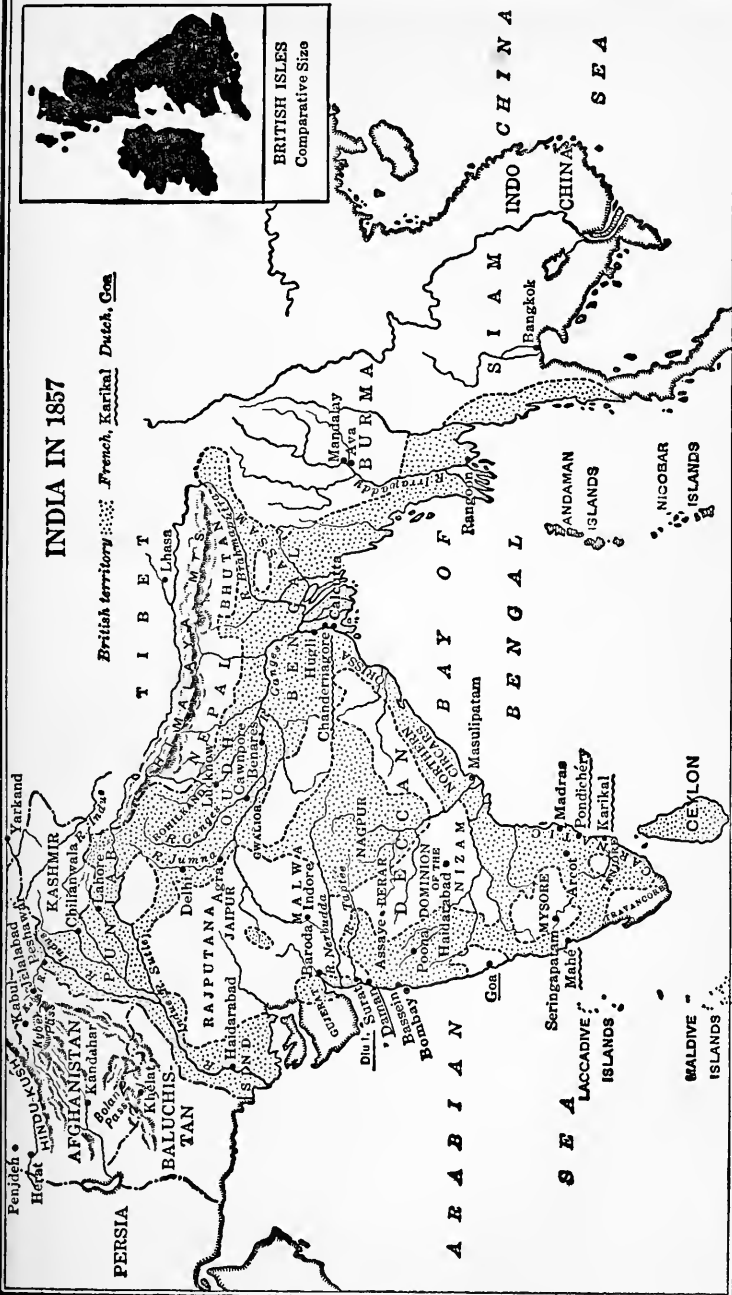
THE period that has been outlined in the previous chapter is an important one in Indian history. India was conquered once more, and this time the conquerors were representatives of a totally different civilization. A western people, primarily actuated by trade, had become the masters of India. Their sense of law and order, their attainments, and above all their mastery of the physical world were much more advanced than those of the peoples they conquered. Fortunately also for the inhabitants of the peninsula, they were possessed of a desire to spread their own culture, which they regarded as superior to that which they found in the peninsula. Instead of accepting the civilization of the conquered, as has so often been the case in history, these conquerors attempted to bring India to a better understanding of European development and ideals, an effort that is still in progress.

By 1825 the control of the peninsula became so evident to the British that it led to a sense of responsibility for the welfare of the country. Conditions had been truly terrible before the British came. Abundant justification could be found for the British conquest in the abolition of the earlier anarchy, if there were need of doing it. Lord William Bentinck in 1804 contrasted the past with the probable future in these words: "If the annals of Indian history are retraced . . . it will be found that this vast peninsula has presented one continual scene of anarchy and misery. Constant revolutions without even a proposed legitimate object have succeeded each other. Wars of great and petty chieftains, unwarranted in their origin and unprincipled in their conduct, for the sole object of robbery and plunder, have depopulated and laid waste the general face of this unhappy country." Bentinck, who was then Governor of Madras and who was to inaugurate reform on a large scale when he became Governor-General in 1828, went on to state what should be done:

INDIA IN 1857

British territory *French, Karikal, Dutch, Goa*

BRITISH ISLES
Comparative Size



"Happily a period has arrived to these barbarous excesses. For the first time the blessings of universal tranquillity may be expected. That system of policy which could embrace the whole of India . . . deserves the admiration of all the civilized world. That system which has founded British Greatness upon Indian Happiness, demands in a particular manner the thanks and applause of this country." ¹

This ideal of the British conquerors began to be strongly evident by the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The feeling of responsibility resulting from the conquest accounted in part for this development. The expression of this feeling is also to be explained as a result of the general movement of ideas then influencing Great Britain. We have already seen how new conceptions of empire were becoming current about 1830. The idea that colonies were extensions of the British stock beyond the seas was to affect India as well as the possessions composed mainly of British settlers. Then, too, humanitarian feeling was strong at this time. The interest in the Indian was but another expression of that same sympathy that went out in those days to the Catholic, the slave, the criminal, the pauper, and the men, women, and children of the overworked lower classes. It was at this time that the great missionary societies were beginning to arouse an active interest in undeveloped parts of the globe.

BENTINCK AND REFORM

Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General from 1828 to 1835, was the first Governor-General to act conspicuously on the theory that the welfare of the subject peoples was the primary duty of the British in India. Bentinck was a thorough liberal and a man of peaceable inclinations. Moreover, pomp and display were distasteful to him. In an unheroic way he began the work of making India happy, a task still calling for British effort and interest.

Among the social reforms he inaugurated was the abolition of *sati* — the burning of the living widow on her hus-

¹ Muir, *The Making of British India*, pp. 282-83.

band's funeral pyre. The widow's position in Indian society was unhappy indeed. In case of passionate devotion *sati* might be a form of suicide, but too frequently social pressure brought about an immolation that was nothing short of murder. The custom was time-honored and largely practiced. Seven hundred women were said to have been burnt alive in Bengal in the year 1817. The former governors had hesitated to abolish the custom, for fear of arousing too great a resentment in the native population. Bentinck, however, after examining the situation carefully, in 1829 made it illegal to practice *sati*. All persons aiding in such a ceremony were declared guilty of homicide, whether or not the woman were a willing sacrifice. Bentinck's reforming zeal was justified, for no serious consequences followed the act. As he wrote in his minute on *sati*: "The first and primary object of my heart is the benefit of the Hindus."

Another practice he suppressed was *thagi*. India was burdened with an organized system of murder and robbery carried on by brotherhoods of hereditary assassins known as *thags* or *thugs*. They had their tutelary goddess, Kali, and sacrificial rites. It was their profession to strangle and rob innocent travelers. Bentinck deputed Major Sleeman in 1829 to suppress this system of sanctified robbery and murder. Gradually information was obtained and the law was actively invoked, so that within ten years the thugs had largely disappeared within the British dominions and the native states as well. A similar evil that was vigorously attacked was known as *dacoity*. The dacoits worked in large gangs in contrast to the methods of the thugs. Major Sleeman was set at this task also, but success was not so immediate as in the case of *thagi*.

Bentinck also brought about a very great reduction in infanticide. The killing of female babies was very general. In some parts of India the proportion of girls to boys was as one to six. The chief motive for this practice was the discredit of having an unmarried daughter; the expense of the dowry and of the marriage ceremony was very burdensome to the parents. Nor was the finding of a suitable husband of the

right caste always an easy matter. The Governor-General, in order to improve the situation, limited the possible expenditure for marriages. Every effort was made to discover actual cases of infanticide that the law might be brought to bear. As a result the number of girls in the population became more normal.

These social reforms would be sufficient to make Bentinck's name a prominent one in Indian history. His administration is noteworthy, in addition, for the advance of educational conditions. As early as 1813 money had been used by the Company for educational purposes. But the grants were interpreted as applying to the study of the ancient languages of the East, such as Sanscrit and Arabic; manifestly this could be of very little practical benefit to the people of India. India was a great complex, a veritable Babel, and it was recognized in Bentinck's administration that no one language of the peninsula could be used as the medium for education. English was finally chosen as a means for instruction. It was argued that the language of the government of the country should be taught in the government schools. Lord Macaulay, who had much to do with bringing about this reform, produced a convincing statement in his famous "Minute on Education" that "English is better worth knowing than Sanscrit or Arabic." The great advantage of English over Sanscrit lay in its civilizing power through the literature and the moral standards thus made available and the opportunity it gave to the natives to enter the civil service in their own country.

Another important advance was the improvement of the government of India and Indian law, especially as far as it dealt with the natives. Formerly natives had been excluded from all but the lowest offices. During Bentinck's administration the natives were granted increased opportunities; the Act of 1833 declared that race and religion should not be a bar to public service.

In 1833 the East India Company's charter came up for renewal and it was once more subjected to important revision. This change reflected the prevailing temper of the reform

movement. The Company had lost its monopoly of the Indian trade in 1813; in 1833 it was no longer permitted to compete in the China trade on even terms with private merchants. It thereby lost almost completely its commercial character as a trading company, remaining in an anomalous position as partly a private corporation, partly a government department. Its dividend of ten and a half per cent was paid from the Indian revenues. A fourth presidency, Agra, was added to those of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, but it was shortly after reduced to a lieutenant-governorship. Britain's chief representative in India received the name of Governor-General of India for the first time, and Bombay and Madras were more strictly subordinated than formerly to this officer, who had developed out of the Governor of Bengal.

By this revision of Indian government a fourth member was added to the Council of the Governor-General whose special work was the codification of Indian law. The first to occupy this office was Lord Macaulay.¹ Liberalism found a remarkable expression in the new principles promulgated. It was declared (Section 53) that due regard should be had for the "rights, feelings and usages of the People" and for the "distinction of caste, differences of religion and manners and opinions prevailing among different races and in different parts of said Territories." No native was to be kept from office by reason of "religion, place of birth, descent or colour" (Section 87). Furthermore, Indian territories under the government of the Company were opened to British subjects for residence. The interest in colonization, which has been found to be developing at this time in England, was in this way applied to India.

William Bentinck retired in 1835. He was one of the best rulers India ever had. His aims were high; his accomplishments, remarkable. The inscription on his statue in Calcutta is not mere fustian: "He abolished cruel rites; he effaced humiliating distinctions; he gave liberty to the expression of public opinion; his constant study was to elevate

¹ Trevelyan's *Life of Lord Macaulay* contains some interesting observations on the India of the early thirties.

the intellectual and moral character of the nations committed to his charge."

LORD AUCKLAND AND THE NORTHWEST

Political reasons led to the appointment of Lord Auckland in 1836, and with him another period of war and annexation succeeded the pacific years of reform and reorganization. Fortunately for Great Britain the twenty years following the beginnings of Lord Auckland's administration were the last years of serious unsettlement in the peninsula. The result of this militaristic, expansionist régime was the extension of the frontiers of India to their "natural" limits on the northwest and the northeast. Along with this accomplishment much was done during this period that was unworthy of British ideals in its best moments; some acts occurred that are regrettable, to say the least.

The northwest calls for consideration first. In 1836 the frontier of the British power on the northwest was the Sutlej River, the easternmost branch of the Indus. It flows southwest from the Himalaya Mountains, where its sources are not far distant from those of the Ganges and the Jumna. To the south of the Sutlej lies Rajputana. Beyond the British possessions in the northwest were three well-defined territories with which the British came into military contact at this time. In the lower valley of the Indus west of Rajputana lay Sind, a thinly peopled region ruled by Amirs. Its chief importance was found in its control of the lower Indus and, therefore, of the commerce of northern India which used that mighty waterway. The trade of northwest India was thus subject to the levies of the Amirs.

In the upper valley of the Indus beyond the Sutlej River lay the Punjab, controlled by a remarkable people known as the Sikhs. The Sikh confederacy was a union formed on the basis of religion, a "sort of Puritan offshoot of Hinduism." With the downfall of the Mogul Empire the Sikhs had developed a dominion as the result of their marvelous fighting ability. During the period we are now studying, their ruler was the very able Ranjit Singh, who had entered into

friendly relations with the British in 1809 by which the Sutlej was defined as the common boundary. Until his death in 1839, Ranjit Singh preserved with care his good relations with the British.

Beyond the Punjab to the northwest lay Afghanistan. It is an exceedingly mountainous country; the loftiest peaks of the Hindu-Kush are 24,000 feet high. The ranges run in a northeast and southwest direction, and through them a few passes of importance communicate with the plain of the Indus. All through ancient times this country had been the gateway through which India's conquerors had descended into Hindustan. In southern Afghanistan is the city of Kandahar, approachable from the lower Indus through Sind and northern Baluchistan by the Bolan Pass. In the north lies Kabul near the headwaters of the Kabul River, and it is approached from India through the Khyber Pass. Herat is situated in western Afghanistan near the Persian boundary; to the north there are the trans-Caspian provinces of Russia.

In 1836 the political condition of this mountainous boundary state was anarchic. Shah Shuja, the heir of the old ruling family, had been an exile in India since 1809, a pensioner of the British. At Kabul Dost Mohammed ruled in his stead. The Sikhs and the Afghans were frequently at war, Shah Shuja using Ranjit Singh's ambitions as a means of possible return to his former dominions.

It was with this very delicate situation that Lord Auckland interfered. Dost Mohammed desired an alliance with the British, but Auckland wisely preferred to keep the friendship of the Sikhs. Thereupon the Afghan ruler entered into negotiations with the Russians. To prevent the growth of this Russian influence Lord Auckland determined, by means of a military expedition, to replace on the throne the subservient old man, Shah Shuja. International politics played an important part in this decision. The fear of Russian power was then predominant in the minds of British statesmen, and Lord Auckland, as an adherent of Palmerston, shared this apprehension. It was felt at the time that Constantinople was in danger of capture by the Russians. It

is true that Nicholas I was adding to his Asiatic territories, and the presence of a Russian envoy in Kabul seemed but the prelude to an attack on India. Auckland wrote to the Secret Committee in 1836 expressing this fear: "Russia can have no legitimate ground for extending her political connections to Afghanistan, while we are necessarily interested in the peace and independence of that country by proximity and position." The Crimean War was the chief expression of this anxiety over Russian development, an anxiety which preserved the despicable government of the Sublime Porte in the Balkans as a means of restraining the Russian advance.

In 1838 the Sikhs, Shah Shuja, and the East India Company made a Tripartite Treaty. Although the British were not obligated to cross the Indus, it became evident that the Shah could not obtain his throne unaided. In an evil hour Auckland committed himself to the invasion of Afghanistan. As the Sikhs objected to the passage of the British army through their territory, it entered Afghanistan through the Bolan Pass after crossing the country of Sind. By August of 1839 Kabul was in British possession and Shah Shuja placed on a throne that was stable only when the British lent their aid. It soon became abundantly clear that the Shah had not even a small measure of Afghan support. Either he must withdraw or the British army must remain. Auckland determined to adopt what was a halfway policy, by which troops were quartered in Afghanistan, and reduced sums paid to the chiefs of eastern Afghanistan to keep the passes open.

By 1841 the situation was precarious, indeed, for rebellion was rife. The British military leaders were not efficient nor of one mind. Finally it was decided to abandon Kabul and retire to Jalalabad. On December 11 an humiliating treaty was arranged by the British forces in Kabul; by its terms the British were to evacuate Afghanistan, free Dost Mohammed, and retire to the frontiers under the safe conduct of Dost Mohammed's son. On January 6, 1842, the army of sixteen thousand began its retreat. The men, women, and children were insufficiently provided with clothing, food, and arms.

The rigors of the winter and the treachery of the Afghans made their retreat one of the most bitter episodes in British annals. During the journey about one hundred and twenty of the army became prisoners of the natives in the hope of acting as hostages for the rest. With the exception of these prisoners but one person, half dead, staggered into Jalalabad on January 14. British arms had never known such a disaster.

Lord Auckland was recalled. He was succeeded by Lord Ellenborough, who set himself with vigor to redeem the situation. He conceived his task to be that of reëstablishing British prestige in the northwest. The British forces at Candahar and Jalalabad advanced into Afghanistan and captured Kabul. After the burning of its great bazaar, they returned to India where elaborate preparations were under way for celebrating their triumph. Under the orders of the Governor-General they had returned with the gates of the tomb of Mahmud at Ghazni, gates supposed to have been carried out of India in the eleventh century. In grandiloquent phrase Ellenborough declared that the "insult of eight hundred years is avenged." Unfortunately, the gates proved to be of later date than the ones taken from India. British prestige was not altogether retrieved in spite of the triumphal marches and the pæans of victory with which the returning army was greeted.

Ellenborough's love for military glory led, also, to the annexation of Sind. The Amirs were prepared to attack the British if the Afghans were successful. On the other hand, the British had flagrantly violated treaty rights in sending troops through Sind into Afghanistan. Back of the desire for Sind, however, lay the need of vindicating British arms and of freeing the commercial intercourse on the Indus. Under Sir Charles Napier acts of war were committed before a declaration was made, with the evident intention of provoking the natives. The country was annexed in 1843. This act of aggression rightly aroused dissatisfaction in England and led to the recall of the Governor-General.

In 1844 Lord Hardinge, a tried soldier, became head of the

Indian Government. It was felt that further military difficulties were ahead, and, in truth, the Sikhs were the next people on the northwest frontier with whom the British were to have trouble. Ranjit Singh had died in 1839 and since that time the Punjab had been restless. The magnificently trained and equipped army of the Sikhs was under no adequate restraint. Finally the British, who maintained a large army near the frontier, were led into war by the advance of the overconfident Sikh troops into the territory east of the Sutlej. The so-called First Sikh War was fought in 1845. A number of very severe battles occurred, the last being waged on the bank of the Sutlej. When the Sikh capital, Lahore, was entered, a peace was arranged that did not provide for annexation, as Lord Hardinge was not eager to endanger his successes. An indemnity was demanded, the Sikh army was cut down, and a British army remained in the Punjab while the Government was being reorganized under the son of Ranjit Singh. Colonel Henry Lawrence was appointed Resident in Lahore. By this treaty the Punjab was given the opportunity of becoming an "independent and prosperous" state.

LORD DALHOUSIE

In 1848 Lord Hardinge was succeeded by Lord Dalhousie, one of the most important of India's numerous governors. From 1848 to 1856 he conducted Indian affairs in such a vigorous and uncompromising fashion that with him the work of Clive, Hastings, Wellesley, and Bentinck came to a culmination. Sir William Hunter goes so far as to say: "He was the only one of the long list of the Governors-General for whom both the great services in India, civil and military, and also the non-official British public, felt a real and lasting enthusiasm." His character was masterful, his personality exceptionally forceful, his will imperious, his interest in India and its problems earnest, practical, and yet idealistic. It is no wonder that his accomplishments measure up to the promise of this young man of thirty-five who assumed the government in 1848. Dalhousie did three things for India; he extended the frontiers to the position they now occupy, consoli-

lated the control of the internal states, and revolutionized in a fashion almost too vigorous the economic, social, and commercial life of the country.

Dalhousie had been in India but a few months when he was called on to settle the problem of the Punjab. The Sikhs showed themselves unwilling to remain independent and yet friendly to the British, who had adopted an attitude of "experimental tolerance." The Sikh army was not yet convinced of its inability to defeat the British, and certain Sikh chieftains developed a strong nationalist feeling. The Second Sikh War broke out in 1849. In January the severe Battle of Chilianwala was fought, in which nearly twenty-five hundred men of the British army were killed or wounded while the Sikhs practically maintained their position. General Gough retrieved this disaster in the next month at Gujrat, about fifty miles directly north of Lahore; the Sikh army was practically annihilated, and the Afghan forces of Dost Mohammed were driven into their mountain retreats. As a result of this victory Dalhousie annexed the whole of the Punjab. It seems to have been a wise move, as the natural boundary to the northwest was reached and the country was opened up to civilizing influences. The great justification of the annexation is to be found in the remarkable way in which the country was developed and the good will of the natives obtained. When the mutiny of 1857 occurred, the Punjab remained quiet; presumably another part of the old Mogul Empire had been made "happy."

In 1852 Dalhousie dealt with Burma to the northeast in a similar manner. The First Burmese War under Lord Amherst had not been a great success.¹ When the Burmese disregarded the treaty then made and interfered in unnecessary ways with the trade then set up, Dalhousie determined to complete the task started twenty-five years before, or, as he put it, take a "second bite of the cherry." In order to forestall any possible danger of defeat he superintended very carefully the military preparations, especially providing against the attacks that the damp climate would make on the

¹ See p. 191.

health of his army. The war was a success, but as the Court of Ava, far to the north, was unwilling to cede lower Burma, Dalhousie annexed it by proclamation in 1852. Independent Burma was thus shut off completely from the sea, and the coast down to the Malay Peninsula came into British possession. The remarkable development of the country has as signally justified its accession as has that of the Punjab.

Dalhousie's administration is noteworthy also for the strengthening of the British control of the various Indian states that had been allowed to exist in a feudatory relation to the Company. Some of these states were subject to serious internal misrule, but the Company could not interfere without violating its agreements. Dalhousie applied his Doctrine of Lapse to the cases where the reigning ruler of a subject state died without natural heirs.¹ During his term of office some half a dozen native states were thus assimilated, the best known of which is Nagpur, a part of the old Maratha confederacy. In 1853 Dalhousie stated the case of Nagpur to the Directors in this style: "The case of Nagpur stands wholly without precedent. The question of the right of Hindu princes to adopt is not raised at all by recent events at Nagpur, for the Raja had died and had deliberately abstained from adopting an heir. His widow has adopted no successor. The State of Nagpur, conferred by the British government in 1818, on the Raja and his heirs, has reverted to the British government on the death of the Raja without any heir."² The Governor-General also allowed the lapse of a number of pensions to old royal families on the extinction of the direct male line, thus simplifying the complex demands on the Company's treasury. In this way the pensions of the former rulers of the Carnatic, of Tanjore, and of the Peshwa died with their holders.

Probably Dalhousie's most notable achievement in the internal affairs of India was the annexation of Oudh. It will

¹ In the Indian states it was the custom to adopt an heir if there were no children to succeed to the throne. Dalhousie held that where the natural successor did not exist the sovereignty reverted to the paramount British Government. It is similar to the European feudal practice of escheat.

² Muir, *The Making of British India*, p. 352.

be recalled that this district, next northwest of Bengal in the Ganges valley, had been left under its native ruler. From the beginning of the century serious misrule had been common. Bentinck had warned the King that "unless his territories were governed upon other principles than those hitherto followed, and the prosperity of the people made the principal object of his administration," the British would take over the "entire management of the country." Lord Hardinge had issued a similar warning in 1847. In 1856 Dalhousie summed up the case in these words: "The time has come when inaction on the part of the British government, in relation to the affairs of the Kingdom of Oudh, can now be no longer justified, and is already converting our responsibility into guilt." Dalhousie's wish that the King retain his royal title and rank, but vest the civil and military administration in the Company, did not appeal to the Directors; they decided on the more extreme course of annexation. Accordingly, just on the eve of his departure for home in 1856, Dalhousie annexed Oudh, adding a fourth to the three great annexations of the Punjab, Burma, and Nagpur. The lands he handed to his successor in 1856 were between a third and a half larger than those he had received in 1848.

Dalhousie's place among the makers of modern India rests not only on his foreign policy, but also on his tireless labor for improving the condition of the country by the introduction of western civilization. He was a Wellesley and a Bentinck in one. Dalhousie was the originator of the Indian railway system. In 1850 the first sod was turned, and six years later when he sailed for England thousands of miles of railway were in operation or under construction. The country was thus opened up and products found their way more easily to the outside world while capital came in for the development of the country. During the six years of his rule exports nearly doubled and imports increased two and a half times. Along with the railway he introduced the telegraph. This was done under tremendous odds, not the least being the native aversion to the newfangled invention. When

Lord Dalhousie arrived in India the postal service was beyond the use of the native population because of high charges and, in addition, the service was very corrupt. In 1853 he established the modern postal system, a halfpenny post for all India.

His administration also saw the organization of the educational system on its broad basis of the vernacular languages and an orderly gradation of the various schools culminating in the three universities created by an Act of 1857. The Governor-General's interests were multifarious indeed. Even scientific forestry received a place among his interests. The war against *sati*, *thagi*, infanticide, and dacoity was carried on by him in a more relentless manner than by any of his predecessors.

THE MUTINY

In 1857 occurred the terrible Mutiny which brings this period to a natural close, for it was followed by the transfer of India to the Crown. There has been much discussion and considerable disagreement as to the causes of this sanguinary uprising. There can be no doubt, however, that the rapid Europeanization of the peninsula from the days of Bentinck, and especially under the ardent guidance of Dalhousie, had made the natives restless and fearful that their ancient standards were no longer respected. The discontinuance of some large pensions, especially that of Nana Sahib, the adopted son of the last Peshwa, aroused much discontent, for this was the sop that reconciled many to British expansion. The great administrative changes inevitable in the districts annexed by Lord Dalhousie created distrust as well. In general, the political changes and social and financial reforms to which India had been subjected in the decades before the Mutiny, as well as the great economic movement so profoundly affecting the country; may be considered as back of the widespread response the Mutiny received among the natives.

The Mutiny itself was a matter of the army. In the south the native castes serving in the British forces were very much

mixed. The Bengal army, on the contrary, was recruited mainly from the Brahmins and Rajputs of the upper Ganges; it was, therefore, largely homogeneous and of the upper castes. In the military provision for India the proportion of natives to British was as six to one. The increase of new administrative positions following the annexations of new territories had tended to enhance this ratio. These upper-caste soldiers disliked foreign service — even service in Afghanistan — as they feared the loss of caste. Yet in 1856 an Act had declared that no recruit should be taken for the army who would not be willing to serve wherever he was sent, possibly out of India, possibly over the seas. The spark that set the smouldering discontent of the Sepoys aflame was the blunder of the “greased cartridges.” Rumor had it — and rightly — that the ammunition for the new Enfield rifles to be used by the Sepoy army consisted of cartridges that had been greased with the fat of cows and pigs. To the Hindu the former was sacred; to the Mohammedan the latter was unclean.

The Mutiny began in May among the Sepoys stationed near Delhi. One of the first acts of the Sepoys was to proclaim the Mogul representative Emperor of India. The revolt soon spread beyond the great city to Oudh and Bengal, and to some extent into the northwestern provinces. In the Ganges valley especially there was great disorganization in the army and much rapine and murder, for the natives aimed at nothing less than the extermination of the British.

The fate of Cawnpore is illustrative of the lot of many isolated garrisons. Not far from this city on the Ganges lived Nana Sahib, who hoped to be ruler of the Marathas with the termination of English rule. He directed the determined native attack on Cawnpore which led to the surrender of the British. Although they had been granted a safe conduct, they were massacred by the treacherous natives in a peculiarly atrocious manner; as the British embarked in boats they were fired on and only four survived in addition to the one hundred and twenty women and children reserved for a worse fate. Sir Henry Havelock, on reaching Cawnpore

with his relief expedition, found that all the British survivors had been murdered. Leaving a small garrison he hastened on to the relief of Lucknow, some forty miles to the northeast. Here Sir Henry Lawrence had made careful provision, and the British held out until relief came in September, but this expedition led by Havelock and Outram only reached Lucknow after the death of its brave defender, Sir Henry Lawrence. Later it was necessary to send a second relief expedition, commanded by Sir Colin Campbell, as the forces of Havelock and Outram proved insufficient. In the middle of September the city of Delhi was reoccupied, largely through the efforts of John Lawrence, the Governor of the Punjab. In spite of these achievements on the part of the British, much remained to be done. It was only with the middle of the next year that the Governor-General, Lord Canning, felt justified in proclaiming the country at peace.¹

Immediately after this terrible revolt and its successful suppression, the great change took place by which the East India Company ceased to exist and India was brought nominally as well as actually under the Crown. The Company through John Stuart Mill made an able defense of its work, and expressed its reasons for the continuance of the former system. But at best divided authority was unwise. The new British Empire growing up in all parts of the world under the direct supervision of the Colonial Office seemed to justify a more direct relation to India as well. The Act of 1858 simply completed the policy that had been furthered gradually by the well-known reconstructions of the Company's rights in 1773, 1784, 1813, 1833, and at other times. Henceforth a Secretary of State for India was to have charge of Indian affairs in place of the President of the Board of Control. The Governor-General became the Viceroy. Few changes were made in the administration of India.

We have reviewed the manner in which the great Indian Empire was won. Many men of distinct ability and varying

¹ The English victories, especially the recapture of Delhi, were followed by acts of cruel and bitter revenge. Yet the Governor-General was derisively called "Clemency" Canning by an enraged British public, dissatisfied with his comparative leniency.

ideals contributed to the expansion of the power of the Honourable East India Company. The concern began its work as a commercial venture in 1600 and later expanded into a landholding and conquering organization of undreamed-of growth and dimensions. It is a fascinating development, and, if there are acts to condone, there are many to laud. If motives were not so lofty at all times as they should have been, the betterment of India was an undoubted outcome of the Company's work. Peace and prosperity had come to a country accustomed to intestine strife and foreign invasion. Yet the tasks set the British were not completed in 1858. In a later chapter we shall study the way in which Indian progress has continued and the extent to which the political demands and economic needs of this great group of peoples have been answered in the last half-century.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

See the Bibliographies appended to chapters **vi**, **vii**, and **xii**.

CHAPTER XIV

THE GROWTH OF CANADA

1760-1867

IN 1759 Wolfe lost his life in the battle that resulted in the capture of Quebec. With the close of the war by the Peace of Paris in 1763 Canada was ceded to the British. We have found that it was perplexing to Chatham to decide whether to return Canada or Guadeloupe to the French. It is perhaps equally difficult for us to-day, as we consider the wonderful expansion of British North America, to appreciate Chatham's quandary. Nevertheless, the question was a serious one to England's prime minister, for, with the possession of Canada, a new sort of colonial situation was faced by the British Government. Formerly territories were increased largely by settlement. Jamaica and New York had been taken before this time, but they did not involve a settled policy of expansion by conquest. Canada seemed to present peculiar difficulties as a continental acquisition settled by inhabitants of another colonizing nation, which had already subjected a native population in a relatively high degree of development. To make the treatment of Canada still more difficult was the fact that it bordered on English possessions to the south where there was a decidedly advanced conception of political rights.

QUEBEC

In 1763 a Royal Proclamation was issued establishing governments in the recently conquered American possessions. The "Government of Quebec" was about the size of the Quebec of to-day. The continuance of the Roman Catholic religion was provided for and a promise was made of political rights. There was provision, also, for the protection of the Indians and for the settlement of soldiers on the bounty lands.

The new Governor was General Murray. In 1766 Mon-

seigneur Briand was chosen, with the Governor's approval, as the new Catholic Archbishop of Quebec, an act that did much to reconcile the Canadians to British rule. The Government, notwithstanding, remained unsettled for some years in spite of the terms of the Proclamation. The difficulties that General Murray faced were great indeed. Baron Masères, afterwards the Attorney-General of Quebec, expressed at this time his views on the "Expediency of Procuring an Act of Parliament for the Settlement of the Province of Quebec." He described the situation in the following manner: "Two nations are to be kept in peace and harmony, and moulded, as it were, into one, that are at present of opposite religions, ignorant of each other's language, and inclined in their affections to different systems of law. The bulk of the inhabitants are hitherto either French from old France, or native Canadians that speak only the French language, being, as it is thought, about ninety thousand souls, or, as the French represent it in their Memorial, ten thousand heads of families. The rest of the inhabitants are natives of Great Britain or Ireland, or of the British Dominions in North America, and are at present only about six hundred souls. The French are almost uniformly Roman Catholics; there were only three Protestant families among them at the time of the conquest of the province. But what is more to be lamented is that they are violently bigoted to the Popish religion, and look upon all Protestants with an eye of detestation. . . . The French insist, not only upon a toleration of the public worship, but upon a share in the administration of justice, and on a right, in common with the English, of being appointed to all the offices of the government. The English, on the contrary, affirm that the laws of England made against the Papists ought to be in force there, and consequently that the native Canadians, unless they think proper to turn Protestants, ought to be excluded from all those offices and various branches of power." ¹

For a number of years the Government was "practically

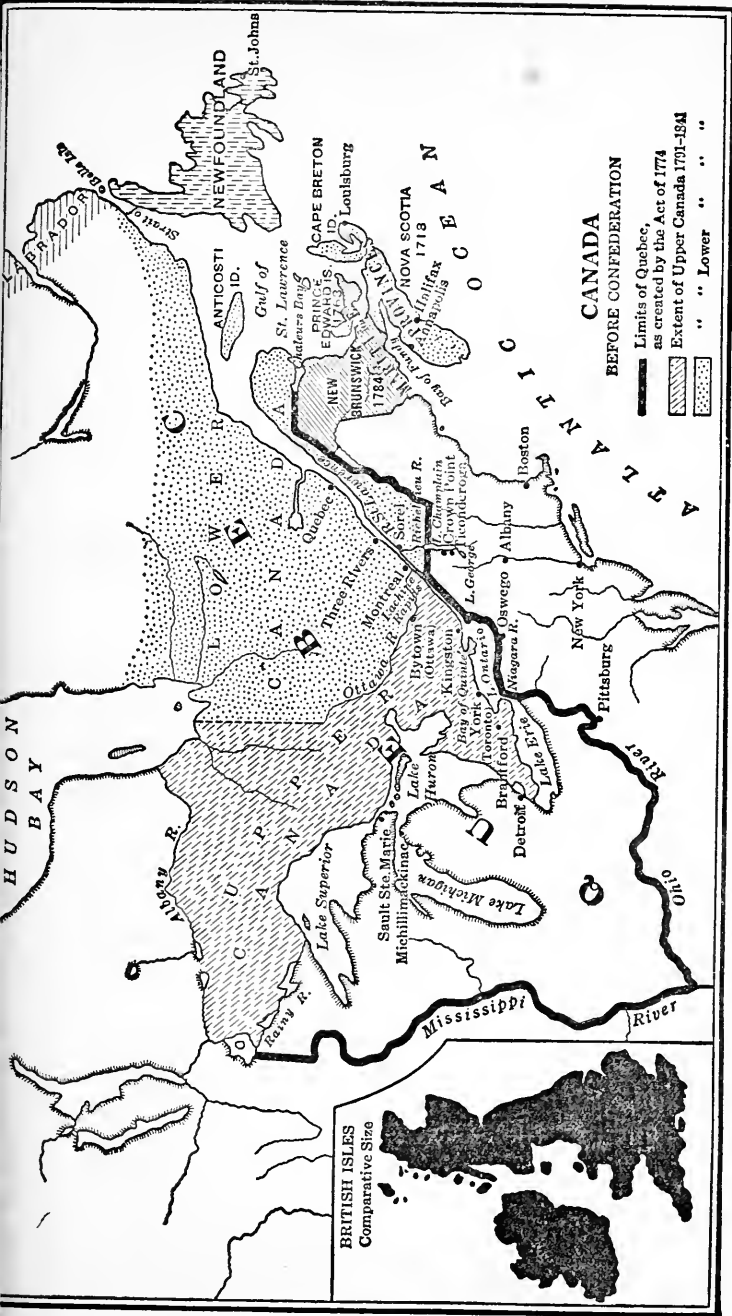
¹ A. B. Keith. *Select Documents illustrative of British Colonial History*, 1, 2-13.

chaotic." Had it not been for the enlightened common sense of Governor Murray and his successor, Guy Carleton, later Lord Dorchester, the conditions would have been serious. Carleton became the actual Governor in 1766, and during the next thirty years did more than any other man to shape and foster the development of this new British possession. Born in Ireland in 1724, he entered the army twenty-two years later, and by the opening of the Seven Years' War had become a lieutenant-colonel. Wolfe relied much on Carleton during the campaign against Quebec. After service at Belle Isle and Havana he came back to Quebec in 1766. Justice and impartiality as well as aristocratic reserve were prominent characteristics of Governor Carleton. He became convinced during the early years of his stay that "this country must to the end of time be peopled by the Canadian race." Accordingly, he advised in 1767 that the old Canadian laws be left entire, and that even feudal tenures be retained.

In 1770 Carleton went to England, just as the troubles with the colonies to the south were growing. He did not return to Quebec until four years later, the year in which the famous Quebec Act was passed. This settlement of the Canadian question came just at the time that Great Britain was legislating against the Massachusetts colony by acts that came to be known in America as the "Intolerable Acts." The Quebec Act, coming as it did at this juncture and providing for arrangements not agreeable to the revolting colonies, was included by them among their grievances. They felt that it had been designedly aimed at their liberties. In the "long train of abuses and usurpations" listed in the Declaration of Independence, reference is made to this Act as "abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and a fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies."

(The Quebec Act provided in the first place for enlarged boundaries for the province.) The Labrador coast was joined

¹ See p. 124.



CANADA BEFORE CONFEDERATION

- Limits of Quebec,
as created by the Act of 1774
- ▨ Extent of Upper Canada 1793-1841
- " " Lower " "

to Canada and lands west and southwest of the province, as defined in 1763, were placed under Carleton's administration. The territory north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi was included, "provided always, that nothing herein contained, relative to the Boundary of the Province of Quebec shall in anywise affect the boundaries of any other Colony." (The expansion of the province seems to have been made to protect the Indians, and to join to Quebec that part of the back country that had been French in the days when Quebec was a French possession, and with which it had a convenient water connection.)

Another important provision of the Act dealt with religion. "For the more perfect Security and Ease of the Minds of the Inhabitants of the said Province" the free exercise of the "Religion of the Church of Rome" was permitted, subject to the King's supremacy. A simple oath of allegiance was substituted for the elaborate one of Elizabeth. The "accustomed dues and rights" belonging to the Roman Catholic clergy were permitted. (It is important to note that the Act provided also for the support of a Protestant clergy in the province.) Civil matters were to be governed by the French law of Canada, but the criminal law of England was to be continued in the province as the inhabitants had "sensibly felt" its benefits from an experience of more than nine years. It was thought inexpedient to call an Assembly. (A Legislative Council of not more than twenty-three members was to be appointed by the King. The Council was not given the power of taxation, and its ordinances were subject to the royal veto.)

There has been much difference of opinion regarding this notable Act. It certainly fell short of the ideas of colonial rights held to the south. Chatham was opposed to it as anti-British. Yet it went far in improving the system of government in Canada, even though it was a compromise. (The French Canadians seem to have regarded it as a good measure, for they paid little heed to the American appeals to join the cause of independence. It perpetuated French law and custom within the British Empire. Had the British Govern-

ment foreseen the growth of the later Dominion and its occupation by English-speaking people, it might well have undertaken the anglicizing of Canada in 1774. Certainly the chief difficulties the Dominion has faced have found their source in the traditional protection given to French customs, laws, and language; but, as we have seen, Carleton expected Canada to remain French. The independence of the thirteen colonies in 1783 brought an altogether new situation into existence.

CANADA AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Carleton had hardly returned to Canada before the British colonies, which had been quarreling with the mother country for the past ten years, revolted. One of the first military acts of the American Revolution was the invasion of Canada. General Montgomery led an expedition north to Montreal, and Benedict Arnold penetrated the province through the valleys of the Kennebec and the Chaudière. Carleton had sent troops to reinforce Gage at Boston, and found it difficult to meet the American attack. He was unable to defend Montreal, which was occupied by the Americans, and he narrowly escaped capture in his retreat by water to Quebec. There the forces of Montgomery and Arnold joined in the siege. Carleton had but three hundred regulars at his command, but he proved himself sufficient for the situation. On the last day of the year 1775 the Americans unsuccessfully attacked the city; Montgomery fell dead as he was leading forward his men.

The Americans had sent a delegation to Montreal to ascertain the character of the situation and bring the Canadians, if possible, into the conflict on the side of the Revolution. The commissioners, one of whom was Benjamin Franklin, were soon forced to return south when Carleton received reinforcements in the spring of 1776. By the end of that year the British had regained complete control of Canada. In the next year the British planned to subjugate the colonies by a comprehensive attack, including the occupation of Philadelphia, the control of the Hudson, and an attack

from Canada. The Canadian expedition was in charge of Burgoyne, who had superseded Carleton as military leader by order of Lord Germain. There seems to have been a personal grudge at the bottom of this change. Had Carleton been at the head of the expedition one may well believe that the disaster to the British arms at Saratoga might have been avoided. Conspicuous lack of generalship was shown by the British in this campaign — in fact, throughout the war — and it is possible, as an English writer has put it, that, had Carleton been in place of the “torpid Howe, the heavy Clinton or the light Burgoyne, there might have been a different tale to tell.”¹

Carleton resigned his governorship in 1777 and returned to England only after he had given every assistance to Burgoyne that he as the Governor of Canada could give. He was succeeded by General Haldimand, a Swiss soldier of fortune, who had served in the British army since 1754. He proved to be an excellent Governor for this war period. Haldimand held Carleton's point of view regarding the French Canadians, governing them justly and sympathetically, if strongly. His administration, extending to 1784, included the critical years at the close of the war when Canada became the haven for Loyalists from the thirteen colonies. Shortly after the defeat of Cornwallis at Yorktown in 1781, Carleton became Commander-in-Chief in America in place of Clinton; his duties were largely confined to the evacuation of the country with the coming of peace.

The treatment of the American Loyalists was one of the most important matters that came up for settlement. As soon as the Americans avowed independence as their purpose, many of the colonists held back. Love for the British connection and a natural conservatism among official and propertied classes helped to make the number of Loyalists large. In New England they were in the minority, but in the Middle States probably a majority of the people were Loyalists or “pacifists.” In the South, also, Loyalism was strong. Various estimates have been made of the number of Loyalists;

¹ Goldwin Smith, *Canada and the Canadian Question*, p. 83.

probably a third of the population would be a conservative figure. It will be evident, as a result of the strength of this class, that the Revolution was a civil war in a real sense. Bitterness of feeling reached such a great height that the winning side was not inclined to return lands to those who had sympathized with Great Britain. Ostracism — social, political, and commercial — was apt to be their lot. By the Treaty of 1783 the Americans promised there should be no lawful impediment to the recovery of debts, and Congress was to recommend to the States the return of confiscated property. In addition, future confiscations were to be forbidden. Congress, unfortunately, was powerless and the provisions regarding the Loyalists remained largely inoperative.

In consequence, there was a widespread emigration into Canada from the colonies that had recently won their independence, a movement in which Carleton played an important part. He delayed the evacuation of New York until ample provision was made for the departure of those who wished to live under the British flag. "He regarded it as a point of honor that no troops should embark until the last Loyalist who claimed his protection should be safely on board a British ship." Britain's care for the Loyalists was shown by its compensations for their losses. Five thousand claimants appealed for a money indemnity, and after lengthy inquiry these Loyalists were granted over £3,000,000.

The great majority of those who left the United States were compensated by lands in Canada and Nova Scotia. In 1783 a large emigration took place to the latter province, the number that settled in the province being over twenty-eight thousand. The western part of Nova Scotia was separated in the next year under the name of New Brunswick, for the express purpose of furnishing a home for the Loyalists. The first Legislative Assembly of New Brunswick met in St. John in 1786, and of its twenty-six members, twenty-three were Loyalists. Its first Governor was Colonel Thomas Carleton, brother of Sir Guy Carleton. Some ten thousand refugees found homes in the St. Lawrence valley, where Montreal and

the rich farming land to the south, known as the Eastern Townships, were the principal places of settlement.

The great majority of the Loyalists, who emigrated overland, went farther west and formed the nucleus for the later province of Upper Canada or Ontario. The immigrants settled in large numbers around Kingston (near the outlet of Lake Ontario), on the Bay of Quinté, across from Niagara, and to the east of Detroit. The number of inhabitants in Upper Canada in 1791 was twenty-five thousand, and they were largely those whose enthusiasm for British rule and institutions brought them across the boundary. An interesting part of this group were the Mohawk Indians, under their leader Joseph Brant (from whom Brantford was named). In the early years of the province the new settlers often endured great hardship. In 1789 it was decided at a council meeting in Quebec that the names of those who had adhered to the "unity of the empire" should be recorded and preserved "to the end that their posterity may be discriminated from future settlers." From this arose the name of United Empire Loyalists or U.E. Loyalists as they are commonly and honorably known in Canada. This recognition but emphasizes their part in the making of Canada. With their coming a great impetus was given to the growth of the province, and a colony, formerly almost exclusively French, became strongly English-speaking.

In 1786 Sir Guy Carleton — created in that year Lord Dorchester — became Governor of Canada for a second time, and he guided the development of British North America for the next ten years. His office was a larger one than formerly, as he was "Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick." His enlarged powers were analogous to those granted about this time to the Governor of Bengal in India.¹ The chief interest in his second administration lies in the constitutional change made in 1791, by which Upper Canada was separated from the lower part of the province.

The immigration of U.E. Loyalists in such numbers ren-

¹ See pp. 182 ff.

dered the Quebec Act obsolete. The loss of the American colonies and the feeling on the part of many of the British settlers that the possessions left to Great Britain in North America should be joined to the mother country by bonds of affection made a reform of the Government of Canada essential. In addition there was much dissatisfaction with the former Act as an expression of British constitutional standards. Burke spoke of it as a "measure dealt out by this country in its anger under the impulse of a passion that ill suited the purposes of wise legislation." In 1786 a petition signed by his "ancient and new subjects" was addressed to the King for a free constitution. The French Canadians presented a counter-petition, and the disbanded soldiers presented one of their own for the creation of a separate district in the territory about Kingston, where there would be exemption from French tenures. Other petitions followed, and finally in 1788 Adam Lymburner, a Quebec merchant, went to London as the representative of the British inhabitants. Lord Dorchester tendered his advice by letter. In replying to a letter from Lord Sydney in 1788, he expressed his belief that a division of the province was by no means advisable at that time. He would have the western Loyalist counties under the control of a lieutenant-governor.

UPPER AND LOWER CANADA

Parliament acted under the lead of Pitt in 1791. The Constitutional Act of that year is chiefly remembered as dividing the colony into two provinces, Upper and Lower Canada. Each province was to have a Legislative Council and Assembly. The members of the Councils were appointed by the King; the assemblymen were selected by electors qualified to vote by ownership of property. The Roman Catholic religion was guaranteed permanently and the Established Church of England was endowed by the permanent appropriation of one seventh of the uncleared Crown lands. These provisions were the cause of later religious controversy, as the two endowed churches were granted privileges and wealth that the Protestant Dissenters did not possess. The British

system of land tenure was established in Upper Canada and made optional in the lower province. The British Parliament was to impose no taxes but such as were necessary for the regulation of trade and commerce, and to guard against the abuse of this power such taxes as were levied were to be disposed of by the legislatures of each division.

The separation of Canada into two parts was very important. Pitt expressed the purpose of the Act in introducing the bill: "This division, it was hoped, would put an end to the competition between the old French inhabitants and the new settlers from Britain or British colonies by which the province had been so long distracted." Unfortunately, the separation did not greatly improve the situation. The British in Quebec did not receive fair treatment. The divided executive authority was unwise when the parts of British North America should have been bound closely together. Upper Canada was purely inland and dependent on the lower province in connection with trading regulations. To the racial and religious troubles there was added one more cause of friction, two provinces. It is significant that in 1806 the French Canadian newspaper, *Le Canadien*, appeared for the first time, having as its motto, "Nos institutions, notre langue et nos lois."

The story of Canada during the first third of the nineteenth century can be briefly related. There was a long interim after the close of the Dorchester régime in 1796 and Governor Prescott's short term of three years before a new Governor-General was appointed. In 1807, when the troubles of Great Britain were many, Sir James Craig was appointed the head of the two provinces. Craig, who had been wounded at Bunker Hill, was a distinguished soldier, and the danger of war with the United States over the questions of impressment and trade led to the appointment of one who would be an adequate military leader in case of actual trouble. Before the approaching war began, however, he retired in ill health. The chief act of his administration was the temporary suppression of *Le Canadien*. He seems to have been responsible for an increase in the ill feeling existing between the two races.

War opened with the United States in 1812. The desire for the conflict was strong in certain sections of the new nation to the south, and it was felt there that the capture of Canada might be expected as a result of its numerical inferiority, Britain's occupation in the Napoleonic struggle, and the internal troubles in Canada itself. Sir George Prevost was Commander-in-Chief and Governor-General in Canada with General Brock at the head of the Government of Upper Canada. American attempts to enter British territory were largely directed at the upper province, but the U.E. Loyalists proved a strong and patriotic defense. The Americans were not efficiently led and had no adequate war organization. In 1815 peace was signed and Canada was allowed to continue to develop its resources in an undisturbed way. Fortunately for the two countries, war has not occurred between them since. The War of 1812 undoubtedly led to increased bitterness against the Americans — an animosity that found expression in a variety of ways throughout the century. The war was of great value in helping to unite the people of Canada by fusing them through a common interest. Racial elements were forgotten for the time being, and Canadians became more passionately attached to the Empire than before, if that were possible.

Nevertheless, with the end of the conflict the former causes of trouble revived. In Lower Canada there was friction between the judges and the legislature. In Upper Canada arrears in pay as well as restrictions on American immigration caused ill feeling. Beyond these apparently petty matters lay the great cause of difficulty, the struggle between the Executive and the Legislative Assembly. It found chief expression in the question of the budget, the Assembly asserting at times an altogether extreme right over the amount to be expended. The Assembly in determining to dispose of public monies without the concurrence of the Council was exceeding even the privileges of the House of Commons in England. As time went on the tension in Quebec took on more and more of a racial character. The French in the province were led by Papineau who was so strengthened in the elections of

1834 that the British in the province formed associations as a counter-measure. In that year the Assembly refused to furnish supplies, and demanded unconditional control of all the revenues, an elective Legislative Council, and better use of Crown patronage.

In 1835 commissioners were sent to Canada to consider these grievances and find, if possible, a solution, but the delegation failed to accomplish anything. When in 1837 the British Parliament voted credits to meet the needs of the administration in Quebec, a rebellion broke out, with Papineau as its leader. The rebels were largely French Canadians, but there was also an English-speaking element among them. The center of the movement was the Richelieu district, where Dr. Wolfred Nelson was the leader. The rebellion never took on large proportions and never had any hope of success. The bulk of the French were kept faithful through the guidance of the Roman Catholic Church and the loyalty of most of the French Canadians of social and political standing. As a result of the rebellion the constitution of Lower Canada was suspended and a second commission was sent out to investigate. Before dealing, however, with the work of Lord Durham's Commission it is necessary to relate the progress of events in Upper Canada.

There the causes for dissatisfaction were not so numerous. The financial dispute was never so fierce as in the lower province; in 1831 the Assembly made permanent provision for the civil list and caused no difficulty over the judicial officers. There was more difference over the relations of the Legislative Council and the Assembly. The latter wanted the former elective. The chief cause of the trouble in Upper Canada was the conservative, close-corporation nature of the Government, the so-called Family Compact. Executive, judicial, and legislative prizes were monopolized by a governing class that consisted largely of descendants of the U.E. Loyalist settlers of 1784, who felt that it had a sort of traditional right to power. They were unwilling to grant privileges to newer immigrants and to more progressive men. Church matters were important also. The Act of 1791 en-

dowed Protestantism, but that meant only the Established Church of England. The clergy reserves set aside for that church caused much ill feeling among other Protestant denominations who felt the discrimination to be unfair. Their great champion was the Reverend Egerton Ryerson, a Methodist minister of Loyalist descent. Through the paper of his denomination, *The Christian Guardian*, he delivered powerful attacks against the system of clergy reserves.

The leader of the radical reform party was William Lyon Mackenzie, who, when Toronto was incorporated in 1834, became its first mayor. Through him and his friend, Joseph Hume, in Great Britain, a report of the conditions needing remedy was spread broadcast in the home country. In 1836 the clergy-reserves question was reopened by the endowment of forty-two Anglican rectories by the authorization of the Lieutenant-Governor. In that same year elections which took place for the Legislative Assembly were so manipulated by the conservative group as to make it appear that the issue was loyalty to the British connection. The unfair way in which the progressive element had been treated resulted in open rebellion in 1837 under the lead of Mackenzie. The rising, though similar to that under Papineau, was even less effective. There was thorough loyalty in the province and no racial problem to complicate the issues. Mackenzie fled to the United States after ineffectual efforts to organize a successful revolt. His attempts to act against Canada from the American side of the border proved utterly abortive.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

Early in 1838 Parliament suspended the constitution of Lower Canada and made temporary provision for its government by sending out a commission under Lord Durham, the son-in-law of Lord Grey of Reform Bill fame. Durham went to Canada in the spring of 1838, returning to England in the late autumn. His report appeared in the winter of 1838-39. Lord Durham was given great powers. He acted as an investigator, while at the same time serving as Governor-in-Chief. He was not only the ruler of Lower Canada, but his

jurisdiction also included Upper Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, for there had been some trouble regarding the government in other parts of the British North American possessions as well as in Canada. As a matter of fact, Durham was concerned almost exclusively with Lower Canada, visiting Upper Canada for a period of only eleven days and the other British possessions not at all. Durham was a close friend of Sir William Molesworth, and his principal assistants in the investigation were Charles Buller and Gibbon Wakefield, with all of whom we have become familiar in the study of the reviving colonial interest in Great Britain during this time.¹ Charles Buller was regarded for a time as the real author of the Report, but this is probably an incorrect way of thinking of his position. Lord Durham was a "leading" man and quite capable of the colonial ideas expressed in the findings of the Commission.

The Report dealt with every phase of the difficulties in Canada. Lower Canada, Upper Canada, the Maritime Provinces, and Newfoundland were considered in their political needs and Public Lands and Emigration were fully discussed as well.² Lord Durham advocated the reunion of Canada by the "complete amalgamation of peoples, races, languages and laws." His words describing the conditions in Lower Canada are famous: "I expected to find a contest between a government and a people: I found two nations warring in the bosom of a single state; I found a struggle not of principles but of races, and I perceived that it would be idle to attempt any amelioration of laws or institutions until we could first succeed in terminating the deadly animosity that now separates the inhabitants of Lower Canada into the hostile divisions of French and English."

In addition to reunion he advocated responsible government for the reunited provinces as a means of terminating the animosity. It was the colonial ideal of the reformers of 1830 applied to a particular part of the Empire. By respon-

¹ See chapter xi.

² The Report is found conveniently in the edition admirably edited by Sir Charles Lucas.

responsible government Durham meant not an increased measure of representation, but the mastery of their own affairs by the subjection of the Executive to the control of the elected Assembly. He also drew a close distinction between local and imperial matters, limiting as far as possible the power of the Colonial Office. Lord Durham believed, contrary to the opinions of many in his day, that responsible government would be a means of binding the colonies more closely to the mother country. The Report also included the Wakefield system of colonization as adapted to Canadian conditions with recommendations that it was hoped would lead to a better distribution and a greater cultivation of the land. In addition, he advised that careful measures be taken for fostering and controlling emigration.

These, in brief, were the recommendations of this very important Report. Charles Buller told the House of Commons in 1839 that the Report would be "the text-book of the colonial reformer until it became the manual of the colonial government of Great Britain." Its great significance for the growth of the British colonial Empire lies in its recommendation of responsible government. Canada was to lead the way and other self-governing dominions were to follow until to-day there is a large measure of truth in calling the British Empire a Commonwealth of Nations. But the doctrine was "new wine" in 1840. Lord John Russell held the proposal to be utterly incompatible with the relations between the mother country and its colony. Gladstone said at the time that "responsible government meant nothing more than an independent legislature." The *Quarterly Review* could not comprehend this system of colonial connection; "To our understanding it is absolute separation." Sir Charles Lucas, in his edition of the Report, truly speaks of it as "the cornerstone upon which a single and undivided British Empire should be reared to abiding strength."

Lord Durham's recommendations were not entirely accepted. He himself was subjected to much wordy abuse, and when he died in 1840 he was apparently discredited. Poulett Thomson was appointed Governor-General to succeed Dur-

ham and proved a man well fitted to carry forward the work of conciliation and reconstruction in Canada. Shortly after he arrived in the colony, the Upper Canadian Legislature and the governing body of Lower Canada made evident their wish for reunion. As a consequence, the British Parliament passed an Act in 1840 reuniting the provinces. The members of the common Assembly were divided equally between the two provinces, in spite of the fact that Quebec had a somewhat larger population. The Governor and the members of the Council were to be appointed by the Crown, the assemblymen chosen by popular vote on a property qualification. The English language was to be used in the legislative records.

Poulett Thomson — created Lord Sydenham in 1840 — convened the first parliament under the new Act in the following year at Kingston. The Assembly determined to have the matter of responsible government understood from the first. Therefore, resolutions on this important matter, not unlike a bill of rights, were passed by the first Assembly. The three resolutions stated the colonial wish for responsible self-government clearly, while duly recognizing the place of imperial authority.¹

Lord Sydenham died in 1841. After three brief administrations, a notable Governor in the person of Lord Elgin directed with wisdom and conspicuous success Canadian affairs from 1847 to 1854. He was the son-in-law of Lord Durham. It was appropriate, therefore, that under his guidance responsible government should have been definitely assured for the colony. He gave his support to the party of reform, and while reserving the right to veto measures he considered to be opposed to the interests of the Empire, he went the full length of permitting the parliamentary party leader to choose the ministers. It is significant that the first man to do this was a French Canadian, Louis Hippolyte Lafontaine. In fact, during Elgin's administration the French won back much of the position that appeared jeopardized by the Act of 1840. The explanation of French influence is found partly in the desire to carry responsible government to its consistent

¹ The Resolutions are given in Keith's *Select Documents*.

and partly in the formation of factional groups among the British.

Lord Elgin went so far as to accept a Rebellion Losses Bill, which indemnified the rebels of the late rebellion. It was strongly denounced by the Tories in the British House of Commons and by the same party in Canada. The battle-ry "No pay to rebels" aroused high opposition to this measure. It resulted in the burning of the Parliament buildings in Montreal in 1849 and in the abuse of the Governor. On one occasion he was pelted with stones and rotten eggs and only escaped rough handling by retiring to his residence, Monklands, by a circuitous route.¹

In 1847 the Civil List was given over to the Canadian Government. In 1854 the Seigniorial Tenure Act practically did away with the old system of land-holding. At the same time the clergy-reserve question was settled by the handing of this property over to the municipal corporations for secular purposes. The same year was notable for a reciprocity treaty with the United States, the result of agitation that had, in addition, brought about the repeal of the British navigation laws, so hampering to Canadian commerce.

CONFEDERATION

By 1854 the Canadian Parliament had developed a number of very notable men, whose efforts during the next dozen years were to be centered upon the problem of federation. The French were ably led by Sir Etienne Taché and Sir George Cartier. Taché was premier in 1856 and was the chairman of the historic meeting at Quebec in 1864. Cartier had taken a rebel's part in 1837, but later he became conservative, and was one of the most important men in politics during the middle period of the century. It was by his active coöperation that seigniorial tenure had been abolished and the clergy reserves secularized. He also gave vigorous

¹ Keith's *Select Documents* (I, 179-90) gives Lord Elgin's interesting account of the affair in a letter to Lord Grey. The Government which found Kingston too small removed to Montreal in 1844. In 1849 the Legislature decided to meet in Quebec and Toronto alternately for four-year periods. In 1858 Queen Victoria chose Ottawa as the capital.

support to movements for the material improvement and educational development of Lower Canada.

The man who held the corresponding place of leadership among the English-speaking inhabitants was Sir John A. Macdonald, one of the most notable of Canadian statesmen. In Parliament he rapidly rose to the leadership of the Conservatives. He was interested, however, in reform, and was tolerant of the French. During the critical days before and after confederation, he and Cartier worked hand in hand. For most of the time from 1854 to 1873 their alliance enabled them to govern the country. The leader of the Radicals was George Brown. In 1844 he had established the *Toronto Globe*, a newspaper, which became a daily in 1853, and was used by him in powerfully influencing public opinion for reform of every kind. He entered Parliament in 1851, and from that time on was leader of the Radicals or "Clear Grits," opposing privilege of all kinds, social, religious, and political.

By 1860 political matters were at a deadlock, and changing conditions in the population were demanding recognition. In 1840 Lower Canada, which had a larger population than the upper province, was represented by but half of the Assembly. Twenty years later the situation was reversed and there were three hundred thousand more people in the upper province than in the lower. George Brown stood for the right of representation according to population. Cartier, as the champion of Quebec, opposed this, denying that the excess population had any more right to consideration than so many codfish in the Bay of Gaspé. Matters came to such a pass that no government could stay in office for any length of time — within two years five appeals were made to the country. Public business could not be administered under such conditions. Finally in 1864 George Brown proved his greatness by forming a coalition with Cartier and Macdonald for the purpose of finding a solution of their difficulties "by introducing the federal principle into Canada, coupled with such provisions as will permit the Maritime Provinces and the northwest territories to be incorporated into the same system of government."

In the meantime the Maritime Provinces (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island) had been working toward a similar end. Constitutional matters had been the chief cause of what trouble had occurred in the Maritime Provinces. Joseph Howe contributed more than any other Nova Scotian to the development and protection of responsible government in his province. In 1861, as leader of the Liberal Party, he sponsored and successfully presented a resolution favoring the federation of the Maritime Provinces. In 1864, the head of the Conservative Ministry, Charles Tupper, arranged a conference of delegates from the three provinces to consider federation at Charlottetown. The Canadian Government, on learning of this meeting, sent a delegation, including Macdonald, Brown, and Cartier, to meet with the conference. The result of the discussion was favorable to a larger confederation than that of the Maritime Provinces. Accordingly it was decided to hold another conference at Quebec to consider the question at greater length.

The Quebec conference met October 10, 1864, on the call of Lord Monck, the Governor of Canada. Among the thirty-one men present were Macdonald, Brown, Cartier, Taché, and Tupper. Other influential members were Alexander Galt from Quebec, William McDougall and Alexander Campbell from Ontario, and Judge Gray and Leonard Tilley of New Brunswick. The members of this conference have become enshrined in Canadian history as the "Fathers of the Confederation."¹ The deliberations, under the chairmanship of Taché, continued for eighteen days behind closed doors. The result of their work was seventy-two resolutions, which became the basis for the Act of Union. When the result of the convention's work was presented to the Canadian Parliament it passed by large majorities. Thereupon, Macdonald, Cartier, Brown, and Galt went to London in 1865 to confer with the home Government. Later New Brunswick and Nova Scotia signified their willingness to join the movement and a second committee went to England, including representatives from the Maritime Prov-

¹ The last of the "Fathers," Sir Charles Tupper, died in 1915.

inces. They met in London in December of 1866 and framed an act for the union of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. It was passed by the British Parliament in 1867 and became effective in Canada on July 1 of that year.

The British North America Act, as it is usually known, gave the name "Dominion of Canada" to the confederation. Upper and Lower Canada became known as Ontario and Quebec. Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland did not join. The latter is still a separate Dominion, but Prince Edward Island followed its sister provinces in 1873.¹ The Dominion Government was given control of all British possessions on the continent, and through the years additional provinces have been created out of what was then practically unoccupied territory. The working of the confederation can well be left until the recent development of Canada is considered in a later chapter. Yet it has seemed wise to detail at some length the movement resulting in responsible government and confederation in Canada, for this Dominion served as the leader and the model in the extension of the principle of self-government to those parts of the Empire fitted to receive it. As a result the great dominions have become almost nations while remaining enthusiastic members of a group that loves the British connection. Or, as Sir John A. Macdonald put it in his famous speech of February, 1865, in which he presented the Quebec Resolutions to the Canadian Parliament: "The colonies are now in a transitional state. Gradually a different colonial system is being developed — and it will become year by year, less a case of dependence on our part, and of overruling protection on the part of the mother country, and more a case of a healthy and cordial alliance. Instead of looking on us as a merely dependent colony, England will have in us a friendly nation — a subordinate but a powerful people."²

What a change from the days when Canada was taken from France one hundred years before! Then it consisted almost wholly of an alien people, less than one hundred thousand in number, located in a few weak settlements along the

¹ See pp. 405, 422 ff.

² Keith's *Select Documents*, I, 324.

St. Lawrence River. New Brunswick and Ontario were unsettled. The two cities of Quebec and Montreal contained together but seventeen thousand people. There were but six hundred Englishmen in the colony. Commerce, education, and industry were hampered by the French laws of the 'ancien régime.' On the other hand, the Dominion contained between three and four million people in 1867. Ontario was occupied by nearly a million and a half of inhabitants; Quebec had a little over a million. Montreal was a city of one hundred thousand people, Toronto of sixty thousand, and Quebec of fifty thousand. Industry had developed and commerce had grown by leaps and bounds, especially after the reciprocity treaty with the United States and the removal of the navigation laws. Since the days when John Molson operated the first steamer on the St. Lawrence in 1809, the navigation of that great waterway had been developed by an efficient system of canals. Already several thousand miles of railway were in existence in 1867, foreshadowing the extraordinary growth of transportation facilities so necessary to a country of Canada's character.

Sir John A. Macdonald may well be pardoned for the optimism with which he looked to the future in the days when he was so earnestly urging confederation. "When this union takes place we will be at the outset no inconsiderable people. We find ourselves with a population approaching four millions of souls. Such a population in Europe would make a second or, at least, a third rate power. And with a rapidly increasing population — for I am satisfied that under this union our population will increase in a still greater ratio than before — with increased credit — with a higher position in the eyes of Europe — with the increased security we can offer to immigrants — with all this, I am satisfied, that, great as has been our increase in the last twenty-five years... our future progress will be vastly greater. And when by means of this rapid increase, we become a nation of eight or nine millions of inhabitants, our alliance will be worthy of being sought by the great nations of the earth." ¹

¹ Keith's *Select Documents*, I, 323-24.

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CHAPTER XV

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF EMPIRE IN AUSTRALASIA

THUS far, in describing the growth of the British dominions, no reference has been made to Australia and New Zealand, two of the most conspicuous parts of the Greater Britain of to-day. Much has been said of India, and mention has been made of the beginnings of South Africa. But Australia and the islands forming the archipelago of New Zealand came to European knowledge late, and there was much less interest in them than in the more accessible and better known lands discovered during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

THE FINDING OF THE CONTINENT

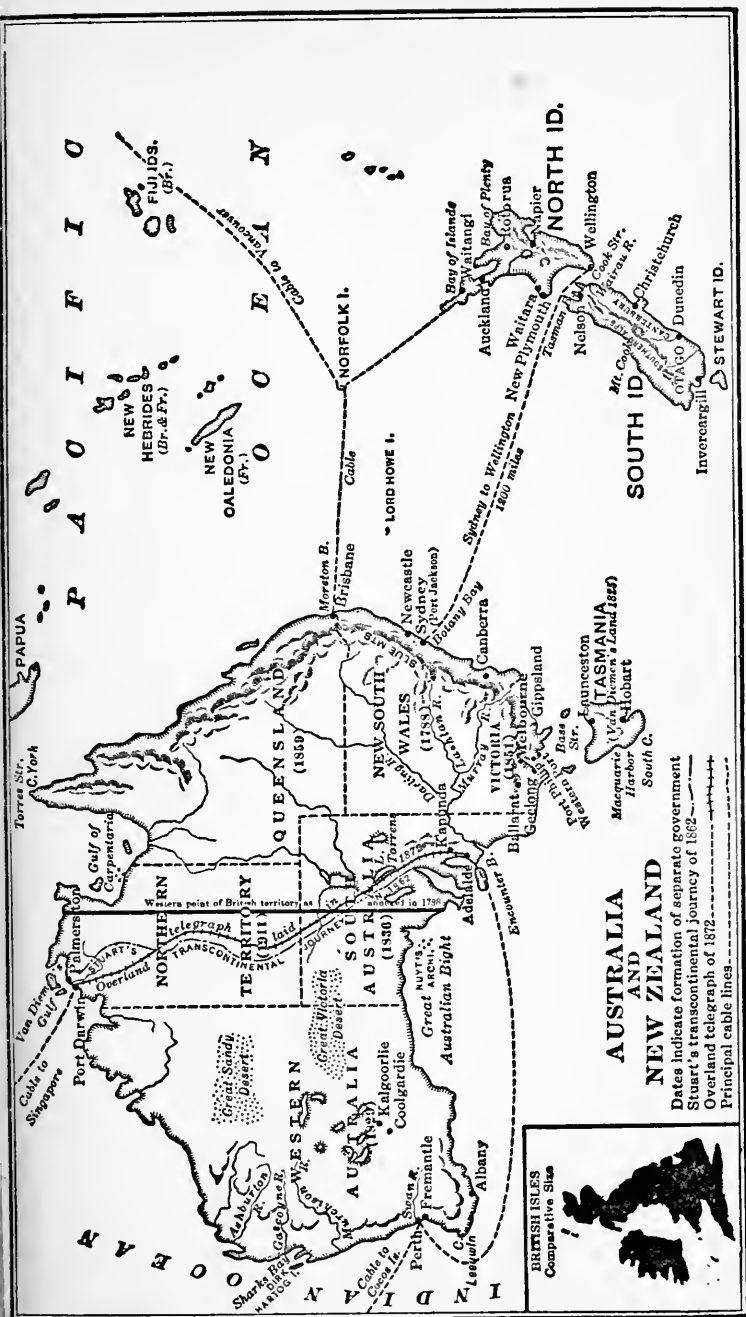
There are sufficient reasons for the delayed interest in Australia and its colonization. All the maritime nations of western Europe had been interested in the East Indies after Vasco da Gama discovered the way around Africa in 1497 and Magellan that about South America in 1519. The monopolization of the Far East by Spain and Portugal during the sixteenth century prevented any save occasional voyages by mariners of other nations. When the Dutch obtained the monopoly of the East Indian trade, they found the islands in their possession amply sufficient for exploitation. The British turned to the development of trade in India as a field well known and of proved value. Added to all these reasons for disregarding Australia was the location of this southern island-continent. It was out of the way and would not be apt to be hit upon save by mariners blown from their regular courses to the Indies or except when a deliberate attempt was made to explore the southern seas.

During the Age of Discovery there was a belief among map-makers that the southern hemisphere was occupied by an unknown continent. The idea that equal areas of land and water were necessary to make the balance and symmetry of the globe probably accounted for this belief. By the middle

of the sixteenth century, as shown in the French map of Jean Rotz, there was supposed to be a great body of land unconnected with Africa or Asia in the southern seas. The voyage about Africa had proved that continent to be separated from this southern land and the growing knowledge of the East Indies seemed to indicate that this southern land might be a great archipelago. Terra Australis, therefore, was thought to stretch to the south and much farther to the east than it actually does, in order to fill in the great expanse of unmapped space in the southern Pacific.

It was just at the opening of the seventeenth century that Torres, a Spanish navigator, sailed through the narrow strait separating Australia from New Guinea, which now bears his name; but, if he sighted Australia, he did not regard it as a continent. It was the Dutch who are responsible for the growing knowledge of Australia in the seventeenth century. With their monopoly of the East Indian trade this would be but natural. In 1616 Dirk Hartog accidentally touched the coast of Australia at its most westerly point, where Sharks Bay and Dirk Hartog Island are found on modern maps. The cape at the southwest corner of Australia is known as Cape Leeuwin from Dutch explorations made at that spot in 1622. Nuyt's Archipelago in South Australia has received its name from a Dutch explorer who coasted along that shore in 1627. About the same time the Gulf of Carpentaria in the north became known under the name of the Dutch Governor then in the East Indies.

The most famous of all the Dutch seamen in these waters was Abel Tasman. In 1642 Van Diemen, the Dutch Governor at Batavia, determined that the southern land should be found, and sent Tasman in search of it with such instructions that, it was believed, he could not miss the continent. He went to Mauritius, thence south to the fortieth parallel, and then to the eastward. In due time he came to land which he named after Van Diemen, but which is now more appropriately called Tasmania. This island, one hundred and forty miles south of Australia, was not known by Tasman to be an island and thus separate from the great land to



the north, for he sailed around its southern side in continuing his journey to the eastward. Not until one hundred years later did Europeans realize that Tasmania was an island.

On continuing his voyage Tasman found the archipelago to which the name of New Zealand was given by the Dutch authorities. In 1643 he returned to Java by way of New Guinea. He had accomplished the remarkable exploit of sailing completely around Australia without once sighting its shores. In a second voyage two years later he continued his explorations by tracing some of the northern coast of the continent, and at that time the name of New Holland was given to Australia. It was not until the early days of the nineteenth century that Flinders, an English explorer, suggested the name by which the continent is now known "as being more agreeable to the ear [than *Australis*] and an assimilation to the names of the other great portions of the earth."¹

The most notable of all the many voyages made in this part of the world, fruitful because it led to the colonization of the continent, was that of the famous Captain James Cook. He was in charge of the vessel taking astronomers to Tahiti to observe a transit of Venus in 1769. His instructions also included an order to search for the great South Land, which was still generally believed to be east of Australia and New Zealand. The first land that he sighted was New Zealand, to which Tasman had come one hundred and fifty years before from the other direction. Cook sailed through the strait which bears his name, separating the North Island from the South Island, and also circumnavigated the group. He next continued westward, but being driven north he sighted the Australian mainland instead of Tasmania, of which he was in search. On April 28, 1770, he anchored in a bay which he called Botany Bay on account of the "great quantity of plants found in this place." Captain Cook soon discovered a better anchorage three leagues north of Botany Bay, which he named Port Jackson; it is on this bay that Sydney, the capital of New South Wales, is located. When

¹ Swinburne, *A Source Book of Australian History*, p. 25.

had coasted north as far as Torres Strait, Captain Cook took possession of the land for England. The attractiveness of the name Botany Bay and the enthusiastic report of Australian conditions by Joseph Banks, a member of the Cook expedition, led to the growth of interest in the new possession. Before the end of the century the British had begun to occupy it.

NEW SOUTH WALES

Joseph Banks became an ardent advocate of Australian colonization. As President of the Royal Society he held an important place in British scientific circles. It is not surprising, therefore, that his description of Botany Bay should have had much influence. Nevertheless, had it not been for the Government's need in connection with the disposition of criminals, the sending of colonists might have been delayed for a long time. The independence of the thirteen American colonies stopped the transportation of criminals that had taken place, especially to the southern members of the group. An inquiry was made into the problem arising from the rapidly congesting jails, and, as a result, an Act of Parliament was passed in 1783 authorizing the King in Council to fix places within or without the Empire where criminals could be sent. Joseph Banks suggested Botany Bay. But it was not until 1788 that the first expedition reached Australia.

Eleven vessels in all made up the first expedition. In the six transports there were about seven hundred and fifty criminals. On their arrival at Botany Bay the harbor and mainland, so much lauded by Banks, proved unfit for settlement. Captain Arthur Phillip, in charge of the expedition, went a few leagues north to Port Jackson, where he found a suitable site in a cove of the finest harbor in the world," as he described it in his letter to Lord Sydney, the Colonial Secretary. He named the new settlement Sydney. The usual difficulties of a new colony faced Governor Phillip. Scurvy proved serious, and the wooded character of the land around Sydney made the clearing of the ground for grain-growing a slow process.

Added to these ordinary anxieties was the further one of watching over a large number of convicts. Fresh supplies of prisoners were continually sent out so that new centers had to be started. Norfolk Island was used for that purpose, and along the coast and inland convict settlements were located. Discipline was a serious problem, since Phillip tried to use the criminals for labor. It must be borne in mind that all of the convicts were not by any means abandoned characters. Many were political prisoners, for when rebellion broke out in Ireland in 1795 in connection with the French Revolution, the Government used stern measures, sending out many Irish political agitators to Port Jackson, where they caused a deal of trouble.¹ Most of the convicts were sentenced for a term, usually of seven years. They then became free and were known as "Emancipists"; their entry into the free society of the colony naturally brought new problems to the Government.

In addition to the sources of difficulty already noted, the early Governors of New South Wales were also faced with questions arising from the presence of a native population. The Australian aborigines were not so serious an obstacle to the white men as were the Maoris of New Zealand or the Red Indians of North America or the natives of India. Governor Phillip, however, wrote back that they were far more numerous than they were supposed to be; he estimated that there were fifteen hundred in the district around Port Jackson and Botany Bay. Mistreatment of the aborigines was inevitable and reprisals naturally followed. But the difficulties from this quarter never hindered to any extent the development of the Australian continent.

It was to be expected that exploration would take place under the early Governors in order to find the resources of the coast and the country beyond the mountain ranges that rise rather abruptly from the eastern shore of the continent. Coal deposits were early discovered by some castaways to the south of Sydney. In 1797 a lieutenant, sent north to bring back some runaways, entered a river, hitherto unknown

¹ See p. 128, n.

about a hundred miles north of Sydney. Valuable coal deposits were found there and shortly afterwards the town of Newcastle was started on the Hunter River, whence large supplies of coal have been obtained ever since.

An important discovery was made in 1797 by George Bass, who found that the coast south of Sydney, instead of continuing to South Cape (the southern point of Tasmania), turned westward. He went as far as Western Port and became convinced that a strait separated Tasmania from the mainland; it received the name of Bass Strait. With Matthew Flinders he made a careful survey of the coast of Tasmania in 1798. Later Flinders, in the ship *Investigator*, mapped out the whole of the southern and eastern shores of Australia. As noted above, it was he who suggested the name of Australia for the continent.

While on this voyage of exploration, Flinders met a French expedition under Captain Baudin, which was also exploring the new continent. The place where they met became known as "Encounter Bay"; it is located south of Adelaide on the coast of South Australia. Although Baudin had named this shore "Terre Napoléon," it is not clear that Napoleon was intent upon building up a colonial empire in this new quarter of the globe. At any rate, the British had obtained possession by earlier exploration and settlement. In two other instances the British but just forestalled the French in Australasia. A fortnight after Governor Phillip arrived at Port Jackson in 1788 the ships of the unfortunate La Pérouse¹ appeared at the same place. It is interesting to note that some years later, when the French were eager to occupy New Zealand, they were again anticipated by the British. It was owing in no small part to the energy and the commanding sea-position of the British after the decisive Napoleonic

¹ This famous French navigator was sent out by his Government in 1785 to enlarge the European knowledge of the Pacific. Much valuable work was done before the expedition stopped at Botany Bay in 1788. The movements of La Pérouse and his companions after their departure from Botany Bay are unknown. The French Government offered liberal rewards in order to ascertain either the whereabouts of the expedition or the cause of its destruction. Half a century elapsed before it was definitely established that the expedition was shipwrecked, with the loss of all on board, near the New Hebrides.

wars that the islands of New Zealand and the whole continent of Australia became completely British. Had Australia been opened for settlement half a century or a century earlier, it is not at all improbable that it might have been divided among the European powers, as were India and North America, and have been the scene of colonial conflicts.

The interior of the continent was especially difficult of access from the east coast, for the mountains, rising rapidly from the shore, form an effective barrier. In the earlier days it was regarded as fortunate, since the convicts could not get away by escaping to the interior. During the governorship of Macquarie (1810-21) it became necessary to expand in order that new territories for stock-raising might be included in the colony. In 1813 the explorer, Blaxland, crossing the Blue Mountains that had so effectively hemmed in the coastal settlements, found beyond an abundance of fertile land, which was named the "Bathurst Plains." It was particularly fortunate for the colony that larger grazing lands were discovered, as it made possible the development of the wool industry. The introduction of sheep was made by John Macarthur, an officer of the New South Wales Corps. In 1797 he obtained from the Cape of Good Hope some fine "woolled sheep of the Spanish breed." Sheep-raising rapidly developed; in 1825 there were twenty thousand sheep in the colony. Soon it became the chief industry, and at the present time it has increased even beyond the proportions Macarthur foresaw. The production of raw wool in large quantities came at an opportune time, for it furnished an abundance of material from one of Britain's own colonies for its growing textile industries. An indefinite expansion of this phase of the cloth industry became possible, with a more secure lead to Great Britain in its industrial development in the nineteenth century.

During the second quarter of the century the knowledge of the back-country was greatly increased by the journeys of daring explorers. The interior of what is now New South Wales and Victoria was revealed by the expedition of Hume and Hovell. Stuart wandered over the stretches beyond

the Bathurst Plains, where it was thought that there was a great inland sea; it proved to be a desert instead. The arduous journey of this same intrepid explorer overland and down the basin of the Murray River made known a part of the country that was to prove of great value. The center of the continent remained an unsolved mystery until much later. But sufficient information was in the possession of the British early in the century to make possible the development of vigorous offshoots of the mother colony at Sydney.

TASMANIA

Tasmania — or Van Diemen's Land as it was known until 1853 — was the first district far from Sydney to be developed on a large scale. In 1804 — six years after Tasmania was found to be an island — a convict settlement was started in the southern part at Hobart when Captain Collins brought four hundred criminals from England. In the same year settlers from Sydney began life in the northern part of the island. Agricultural and pastoral pursuits developed very rapidly; by 1821 fourteen thousand acres were under cultivation. Sheep from Macarthur's flocks were introduced and Tasmania was found especially fitted for the production of fine wool. In 1821 there were over one hundred and eighty thousand sheep on its pastures.

The greatest hindrance to the growth of the colony was the introduction of convicts. As Sydney grew tired of the evils of transportation, the worst criminals were sent to Tasmania, where escaped convicts by their bushranging made life miserable for the free settlers. In 1821 Macquarie Harbor, on the west coast, was set aside for those convicts who were so incorrigible as to be untrustworthy in assigned service or government-work gangs. When free settlers came to this part of the island the prison was removed to Port Arthur on the Tasman Peninsula. Colonel George Arthur, who was Lieutenant-Governor from 1824 to 1836, ruled with an iron hand and brought a large measure of order into the island. He was disliked, nevertheless, by the free settlers, as he firmly believed that Tasmania should be and should remain primarily a convict settlement.

It was at this time also that trouble occurred with the aborigines of Tasmania. A fruitless attempt was made to herd them into one part of their island home. Later they were induced to settle on a small island off the north coast. But confinement was not congenial to their wild natures and the last of the aborigines died in 1876. We have here a signal illustration of the way Europeans, in their eagerness to exploit new lands the world over, have too often ruthlessly pushed aside weak and helpless peoples.

After Governor Arthur's time convicts came in greater numbers than ever, for the mainland was freed from transportation in 1840. Sir John Franklin, the next Governor, but better known as an Arctic explorer, tried to reform the convicts by mildness. By that time half the adult male population were criminals. It was but natural that the free settlers should make earnest protests against the continuance of transportation. At last, when in 1846 the home Government decided to remove the worst cases from Norfolk Island to Tasmania, the Tasmanian settlers rose in revolt against Governor Wilmot, driving him from the colony. Transportation was finally abolished in 1853.

VICTORIA AND QUEENSLAND

Victoria, the state of Australia occupying the southeast corner of the continent, had its beginnings in settlements on Port Phillip Bay. As we have found, Hume and Hovell had explored the interior by an overland journey from New South Wales. It was not until ten years later that the real beginnings of Victoria were made at Port Phillip by John Batman. He formed the Port Phillip Association in Tasmania, and proceeded to purchase large tracts of excellent land from the aborigines. When he returned to Tasmania to persuade Governor Arthur to confirm the purchase, another resident of the island, by the name of Fawkner, brought a party of settlers to Port Phillip. Out of the efforts of Batman developed the settlement of Geelong; Fawkner and his followers were the founders of Melbourne. The Governor of New South Wales claimed jurisdiction over the new colony, and it became subordinate to the ruler at Sydney.

Port Phillip developed very rapidly, as there was an abundance of fine grazing land along the coast, while Gippsland and the interior districts afforded unlimited opportunities for growth. The history of the colony was uneventful during these early days. The only serious difficulty it found was in being governed from Sydney. In 1840 the Government of Victoria was separated from New South Wales for land purposes, but the colony was still a part of New South Wales politically. In 1842 the movement for separation began. It was found to be useless to elect to the Council at Sydney men from Melbourne, who would go there only to be outvoted. Accordingly, the Port Phillip colony elected to the Sydney Council, as their representative, Earl Grey, the Secretary for the Colonies in the home Government. This unique proceeding accentuated their demands, and they were separated from New South Wales in 1851. This same year saw the discovery of gold in the colony. Almost overnight the hitherto insignificant settlement became one of the most discussed places in the world.

Queensland, the state north of New South Wales, lies about Moreton Bay, on which Brisbane, the present capital, is located. Moreton Bay was made a convict settlement in 1826. Brisbane for fourteen years was nothing but a government station. The sheep-owners of New South Wales, however, were pushing north for new pasturage, and in their march they came upon the extensive Darling Downs just back of Brisbane. With the abolition of transportation in 1840, Brisbane became the port for the sheep-raisers of the interior. It developed rapidly as a free man's settlement, but was not until 1859 that Queensland was separated from the mother colony.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Western Australia was so far removed from Sydney that it never came under its jurisdiction. Ever since the days of Dirk Hartog it had not been regarded as a favorable part of the continent for European occupation, owing to the lack of good harbors, water supply, and rich soil. In 1827 Captain

Stirling, who was exploring the coast of Western Australia was especially attracted by the coast and land near the Swan River, and sent home a very enthusiastic account of its possibilities. He was also impressed with the need of occupying the coast in order to prevent other nations from taking it. In fact, some convict settlements, notably the one at Albany east of Cape Leeuwin, had been recently established to forestall the French occupation of this part of the continent. An offer was made to the Government by a body of British capitalists, of whom the most prominent was Thomas Peel, to colonize the Swan River district. They wanted four million acres of land and agreed to send one hundred thousand settlers to the Swan River within four years. The Government, however, limited the grant and so formulated the plan that there would be no public expense. Settlers were to receive grants at the rate of forty acres for every three pounds invested in capital.¹ The Government put Captain Stirling in command of the colony and paid his salary by the grant of one hundred thousand acres of land.

In 1829 the first settlers arrived at the Swan River, and it was not long before there were four thousand free inhabitants in Western Australia. But the colony did not prosper. The settlers were given grants of land that were altogether too large. And, to make matters worse, the largest landowners were given first choice, which meant that Perth and Fremantle were surrounded by enormous estates. Much of the soil remained uncultivated owing to the scarcity of labor; there were no convicts and land was so cheap that everybody who wanted it had it. In 1832 the population dropped to fifteen hundred. As a result of this unfortunate beginning the colony received a bad name. As late as 1849 there were less than five thousand people in this part of the continent. During all this time the Swan River settlement had no convicts. But in 1849 the landowners requested that such labor be sent them. Immediately the situation improved, and

¹ "One man at least brought a seventy-guinea piano, landed it on the beach at Fremantle, got his order for nine hundred and eighty acres on the strength of it, and then left it to rot on the sand." *The British Empire, Past, Present and Future*, p. 353.

ten years the population had increased to fifteen thousand. The transportation of convicts was introduced into Western Australia at a time when the other Australian colonies were trying to rid themselves of this incubus. Western Australia, however, paid the penalty for its prosperity, for when representative institutions were granted to the other colonies in 1850, it was not included. Not until forty years later did this most backward of the Australian settlements receive representative institutions.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA

South Australia had been explored by way of the Murray River in 1829 and 1830. When the failure of the Swan River colony made Englishmen as a whole pessimistic of colonizing efforts, Gibbon Wakefield pressed for a further trial on the basis of systematic colonization. By this plan he hoped to avoid the dangers met by the Swan River colony and encountered at that time in eastern Australian groups where transportation was still prevalent. In 1829 Wakefield published his famous *Letter from Sydney*. It has already been noted that his contribution to colonization was on the two problems of land and labor. He would make land of sufficient price to prevent every one from becoming an owner. Thus a body of laborers would be produced. In addition, Wakefield desired the price to be within reasonable limits so that the laborer could look forward to ownership. This plan would furnish a body of free laborers to take the place of the unsatisfactory convict workmen. The scheme would tend to bring all the land that was purchased under immediate cultivation. An emigration fund was to be formed from the proceeds, by which laborers were to be brought out free of cost.¹

In 1832 the South Australian Land Company was organized for the purpose of applying Wakefield's ideas to this unoccupied section of the southern continent. Although difficulties were met because a lack of sympathy was shown by the Colonial Office, the Company and an Association formed

¹ The Wakefield plan has been more fully treated in chapter xi.

in 1833 effected the passage of an Act through Parliament in 1834 authorizing settlement in South Australia. Commissioners were appointed who had powers to sell land at auction for not less than twelve shillings an acre, a price that was higher than in the neighboring settlements. When the population should reach fifty thousand, a constitution was to be granted to the colony.

After considerable land had been sold and a body of emigrants enlisted, the colony was established in 1836. Colonel Light, the Surveyor-General, chose with care the site of the capital city, Adelaide. Settlers came so fast that the surveying parties could not keep ahead of the demand for land. One of the early Governors, Gawler, felt compelled to project public improvements in Adelaide to give employment to the laboring class. This was doubly bad, as it took them from the land where they were needed and piled up debts which the colony could ill afford. In the two years of 1839 and 1840 Gawler had spent over £300,000. In spite of the departure of considerable numbers of immigrants to other parts of Australia, the population of the colony was fifteen thousand when Gawler was recalled in 1840.

Captain George Grey, who had recently become known for his explorations in Australia, was hurried out to South Australia in the next year to remedy a situation that seemed critical. The colony was bankrupt, and Captain Grey was given the strictest injunctions to retrench. His great object, as he put it himself, "was to give the labourers no inducement to remain in town, or upon public works; but to make them regard the obtaining of a situation with a settler as a most desirable event." The new Governor reduced relief works to a minimum and limited the amount of the daily wage paid by the Government. There was a loud protest raised among the laborers and by the press. Grey was burned in effigy and threatened with violence. The success of his work in reducing expenditures and spreading the population over the rural districts was marked. In three years the annual government expenditure was lowered from £170,000 to £30,000. In 1840 two thirds of the population were in Adelaide. In

45 the situation was reversed; fourteen thousand people, two thirds of the colony's inhabitants, lived in the rural districts. In 1840 there were fewer than three thousand acres under cultivation; when Grey left in 1845, the cultivated land had increased tenfold.

A fortunate discovery that helped, but does not wholly count for, the success of the Grey administration was the finding of copper in 1842 at Kapunda and Burra Burra, whence thousands of tons of copper were sent to Great Britain within a few years. It was not unnatural that the early hatred of Grey should have turned to admiration and gratitude as the colony prospered under his guidance. Lord John Russell spoke in the British Parliament of Grey's work in the highest terms: "In giving him the government of South Australia I gave him as difficult a problem of colonial government as could be committed to any man, and I must say after four or five years' experience of his administration, that he has solved the problem with a degree of energy and success which I could have hardly expected from any man."¹

In 1845 an admiring Government hastened George Grey off to New Zealand to adjust a situation as perplexing as he had faced in Australia. Later, as Sir George Grey, he became famous as a colonial Governor in South Africa as well.

Four years after Grey's departure the population of South Australia passed the fifty-thousand mark. Thereupon the same Government redeemed its promise of a constitution. In 1851 the colony was granted representative institutions along with the other Australian colonies, Western Australia only excepted.

A natural division point in Australian development is reached when a large measure of self-government was given to the well-established colonies in 1851. The evolution of the constitution was not dissimilar to that of Canada. At first the rule had been predominantly military. The Governor was an autocrat indeed, but it was necessary where there was such a strong mixture of convicts and emancipists. The early judicial system did not provide for the exercise of tra-

¹ Henderson's *Sir George Grey*, p. 70.

ditional British liberties, as there were no juries and the judge was the accuser as well as the one who gave the decision. In 1823 an imperial statute improved the judicial system, and provided for a Legislative Council for the Governor, which was appointed by the Colonial Office.

An important step toward self-government was made in 1842. Two years before, transportation to the eastern mainland of Australia was abolished. By an Act of Parliament in 1842 New South Wales received some of the privileges that Lord Durham recommended in 1839 for Canada. A Legislative Council was established, one third of whose members were appointed by the Crown and the remainder selected by the colonists. It was to have complete control of colonial revenue. We have found that Victoria, in spite of the fact that it had six members in the Council, objected to the cumbersome way in which it was governed. Earl Grey accordingly asked the British Board of Trade to investigate the situation. In their report, presented in 1849, proposals were made that resulted in the Act of 1850. This Act separated Victoria from New South Wales and granted to these two and also to Tasmania and South Australia a large measure of self-government. The customs revenue was handed over to the colonies, the land revenue was to be used for local government purposes, and the four colonies were empowered to make constitutions. Thus the privileges already won in Canada were extended to the southern continent. Queensland became a separate colony in 1849, and Western Australia was included under the privileges of the Act in 1890.¹

THE GOLD RUSH

One more influential factor that profoundly modified the character of Australian development at the mid-century point remains to be presented. In 1851 E. H. Hargrave discovered gold on Summerhill Creek in New South Wales. He was a resident of that colony, who had gone to California when the gold rush occurred there in 1848. Hargraves w

¹ See pp. 384-86 for an account of the development of self-government in the Australian colonies.

struck by the similarity of the land formation in the Sacramento valley to that which he had seen in New South Wales. He was so impressed by this similarity that, on returning to Australia in 1851, he sought and found gold where he expected it would be. By the middle of June the country about Bathurst and along the various branches of the Macquarie was thickly peopled with seekers for gold. It was not unnatural that enthusiasm was at a high pitch, for in July a squatter by the name of Kerr found a mass of virgin gold weighing one hundred pounds. The colony of Victoria was naturally eager to participate in this prosperity and offered a reward of £200 for the first gold discovered in that colony. The money was soon won. Not far northwest of Melbourne, gold was found in even greater quantity than in the northern colony. Rich deposits were brought to light, especially around Ballarat.

The effect was far-reaching. "Many houses might be seen half finished for want of men to proceed with the work, though the owners and contractors were offering enormously high wages to any that would complete the work. The fields were left unsown, flocks of sheep were deserted by the shepherds. . . . Even the very 'devils' bolted from the newspaper offices; in short, the yellow fever seized on all classes of society."¹ From the neighboring colonies large numbers of immigrants rushed to the new gold fields. South Australia was in danger of depopulation, and eleven thousand men crossed from Tasmania in seven months. When the news reached the outside world, Australia became a land of promise. Thousands came from the Californian fields. Britain and the continent sent large contingents. The numerous European revolutions of 1848, including the Chartist movement in England, had been largely failures, and the restless and dissatisfied radicals found a new field of interest. In five years the population of Victoria mounted from seventy thousand to three hundred thousand.

The influence of the gold rush on future Australian development was very great. A peaceful, gradually evolving pas-

¹ Swinburne, *Source Book of Australian History*, pp. 141-42.

toral country, with an almost unalloyed British population, was inundated with new elements. The population of the continent, which was about four hundred thousand in 1850, almost trebled in size in ten years. Many of the immigrants were not of the solid, steady sort, and were radicals politically. The colony of Victoria, in particular, acquired a different character from the colonies that remained pastoral in type. These additions to the population occurred just as the Australian settlements were in the act of making new constitutions.

Tasmania and South Australia, as well as the two gold-producing colonies, profited by the movement, for they became places of investment for the newly-won gains and sources for large shipments of produce for the greatly increased population of Victoria and New South Wales. It is important to realize that the continent, which began as an out-of-the-way dumping ground for convicts at the close of the American Revolution, proved to be of enormous value as a result of the abundance of wool and gold. It meant that the future development of the continent was already on a sure basis.

NEW ZEALAND

The archipelago of New Zealand had been visited by Tasman in 1642, but Captain Cook's later visit proved of more importance, as he determined the true character of the group.

New Zealand is one of the most interesting parts of the British Empire. It consists of a group of islands, three of which are of importance, North Island, South Island, and Stewart Island. The group is shaped like the Italian peninsula with the toe of the boot pointing toward the equator; it is about five sixths the size of the British Isles. The North Island is very mountainous and at its northern extremity exceedingly broken in coastline. On a narrow isthmus in the north, so located as to have easy communication by sea both east and west, is Auckland. At the southern end of the island is the capital, Wellington. The South Island has even

a higher mountain system, known as the "Southern Alps." This chain extends along the west side of South Island, reaching a height of over twelve thousand feet in Mount Cook. The descent to the sea is abrupt on the west, and in the southwest deeply indenting fiords have been formed. On the east are found the only extensive lowlands in New Zealand — the Canterbury Plains. Nelson on Tasman Bay in the north, Christchurch on the east coast at the northern end of the Canterbury Plains, and Dunedin and Invercargill in the southeast are the principal cities.¹

From the first the British faced great difficulty in occupying this group of islands so congenial to the natives of the British Isles. They found an aboriginal population that had to be considered far more seriously than the inhabitants of Australia or Tasmania. The Maoris had reached a stage of civilization not unlike that of the barbarian tribes of northern Europe at the opening of the Middle Ages or of the North American Indians of the Six Nations group when the British began their settlements in America. The Maoris, who were almost exclusively in the North Island, had well-planned fortifications, and found in warfare their chief occupation. They possessed an elaborate mythology, emphasizing taboo and blood vengeance in their plan of life, and had practiced cannibalism. Yet Sir George Grey spoke highly of them: "They are in many respects a noble race. . . . They are splendid warriors, very eloquent, very sensible of praise, very proud; yet easily led. Indeed they have won all my feelings and sympathies in their favour by their conduct to me." ²

The earliest settlers of New Zealand were escaped convicts, whalers, shipwrecked sailors — the flotsam and jetsam of the Pacific. They were followed by a much better element, when the missionaries began their labors among the Maoris in 1814. Wesleyan and Catholic missions soon followed the representatives of the Church Missionary Society. The work of the missionaries seems to have been very successful, although it was retarded by the abuse of the natives by un-

¹ See map on p. 237.

² Henderson, *Sir George Grey*, p. 77.

principled white men and by the sale to the Maoris of liquor and firearms. In order to prevent lawlessness, the islands were put provisionally under New South Wales, much in the same way as Tasmania was subject to the mother colony.

Extensive settlement did not begin until the "systematic" colonizers turned their attention to New Zealand. Little had come of a colonization society which Lord Durham had founded in 1825. Twelve years later Gibbon Wakefield was influential in forming the New Zealand Association, an organization of which Lord Durham became a member. It was to be granted sovereignty over a part of New Zealand, with rights to purchase and resell land. The Church Missionary Society, however, was opposed to any scheme that would interfere with missionary labors. The opposition was so persistent that at last in 1839 the various groups interested in New Zealand colonization determined to go ahead without governmental permission. Gibbon Wakefield's brother, Colonel Wakefield, was sent out and began bargaining with natives for land; the first immigrants of the New Zealand Land Company arrived in January, 1840.

As a result of this activity on the part of colonizers, the home Government was forced to act, in order that the settlement might be under imperial control. Therefore, in 1840 Captain Hobson was sent out as Governor. It was made clear that no land purchases would be valid unless sanctioned by the Crown. One of Governor Hobson's first acts was to make a treaty with the Maoris; by the aid of the missionaries the famous Treaty of Waitangi was negotiated with the natives in February, 1840. In this agreement the full sovereignty of the islands was ceded to Great Britain, which, in turn, granted the natives the standing of British subjects and the right to possess their lands as long as they wished to do so. In case of the sale of lands the Government was to exercise supervision over their disposal. Hobson established Auckland in 1840 as the capital and proceeded to exercise the rights of the ordinary British governor.

His task was a hard one. The New Zealand Company, which received its charter in 1841, had rights of purchase and

an almost independent status. The early years of New Zealand history were filled with difficulties that arose out of this dual system of occupation, for it became almost impossible to keep to the Treaty of Waitangi when a zealous land company was concerned in obtaining as many acres as possible. It could be said that the New Zealand Land Company did not remain the philanthropic organization that Gibbon Wakefield had dreamed of back in the early thirties. He himself repudiated their later methods when he declared that the Company was founded by men with great souls and little pockets, and fell into the hands of men with little souls and great pockets." The Maoris, moreover, were unwilling to part with their land. An old Maori proverb had declared: "It is from food that a man's blood is formed, and it is land which grows his food and sustains him. Never part with our land." An additional source of trouble was the Maori system of land tenure. The land was not held in private ownership, but was the common property of the tribe. In purchasing native land it was difficult, on the one hand, to satisfy the numerous owners or, on the other, to convince the white purchaser that the disposition of a few beads and trinkets to a single Maori did not satisfy the native idea of purchase.

The New Zealand Company sent its first settlers to Port Nicholson in 1840. There, in the vicinity of the present town of Wellington, large tracts were "purchased" from the Maoris. Shortly afterwards, settlements were made at New Plymouth on the west coast of the North Island and also at Nelson on the upper end of South Island. Land troubles grew out of these "purchases," especially in connection with lands claimed by the Company on the Wairau River near Nelson. Colonel Wakefield was killed in an altercation with the natives concerning these lands.

Most of the South Island up to this time had been left unoccupied. But after the establishment of the Free Church in Scotland a movement for sending emigrants to New Zealand was organized at Glasgow. In consequence, Scotch settlers established themselves in 1848 at, and in the neighborhood

of, Dunedin in the province of Otago. In 1849, the Church of England, through the Canterbury Association, purchased large tracts in the eastern plains of the South Island.¹ In the next year Christchurch was established and the neighboring rich pastoral and agricultural district was occupied by Church of England immigrants. In 1851 the bankrupt New Zealand Land Company was dissolved, and the way was prepared for the unification and constitutional development of the archipelago.²

The record of early New Zealand growth would be incomplete if no mention were made of Sir George Grey. We have found that he brought order into the recently established colony of South Australia, where he was Governor from 1841 to 1845. In the latter year he was suddenly sent to New Zealand at a critical moment in the relations between the British and the Maoris. There he labored earnestly from 1845 to 1853 as Lieutenant-Governor of New Zealand. In dealing with the Maoris he showed himself remarkably sympathetic, and endeavored to blot out by kindness and thoughtful consideration the righteous Maori indignation against the treacherous and unfair methods by which the Treaty of Waitangi had been systematically violated. For example, Grey found that one speculator had obtained over four thousand acres of land near Auckland for one horse, a saddle and bridle, five double-barreled guns, and a pair of trousers. The Governor proceeded to set much that was wrong to rights. The New Zealand Company found him a determined opponent of their extensive schemes, and even church missionaries, who had acquired extensive grants, were subjected to his searching investigation. Sir George Grey studied the natives with great success. He learned how to win their loyalty.

¹ The Canterbury Association was an Anglican colonization society, in which the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Lyttelton, took a prominent part. The district in New Zealand, to which the Canterbury "pilgrims" came, was fittingly named Canterbury; the port was Lyttelton.

² Gibbon Wakefield left the New Zealand Land Company before its dissolution, and was influential in the establishment of the Church of England colony on the Canterbury Plains. In 1853 he took up his residence in New Zealand and was a member of the first Parliament of 1854. He died in Wellington 1862.

ity and greatly ministered to their growth in civilization and prosperity by restricting the sale of spirituous liquors and by preventing the distribution of arms and ammunition. He gave them a share in the administration of justice by organizing a native police, and afforded the Maoris ample protection before the law.

When the New Zealand Company was dissolved in 1851, there were six distinct settlements in the islands—Auckland, Wellington, and New Plymouth on the North Island and Nelson, Otago, and Canterbury on the South Island. In the next year they were united under a constitution. Governor Grey had recommended to the Colonial Office in 1851 that representative government be granted to New Zealand. The Imperial Parliament responded with the Constitution Act of 1852. Six provinces were formed, each with a Provincial Council and Superintendent. The franchise was limited by property qualification. As the centralizing element, there was to be a Governor, a Legislative Council, and a House of Representatives. The Legislative Council was nominated by the Governor; the members of the House of Representatives were chosen by vote as for the Provincial Councils. The Governor was given considerable power; he only could initiate money bills, his approval was necessary in the choice of a speaker of the House of Representatives, and his expenses were definitely reserved. The Maoris were to be carefully protected in the possession of their land.

This provincial system existed until 1875. New provinces were created from time to time, and New Zealand assumed its place among British possessions as a group of loosely centralized colonies with limited self-government. In 1852 the white population of the islands was twenty-seven thousand; the Maoris numbered about twice that number. Further wars with the natives were to occur, and Sir George Grey was to be sent back to solve the troubled relations of native with white invader before the islands were to settle down to a peaceful development. In recent years, as we shall find in a later chapter, the growth of this "Britain of the South" has been as remarkable as that of any other part of

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CHAPTER XVI

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF EMPIRE IN SOUTH AFRICA

THE southern end of the great African continent forms an important part of the British Empire. In 1910, by the Union of South Africa, the various geographical divisions were formed into a self-governing Dominion. Yet, strange to say, this youngest of the great Dominions is the oldest, so far as its discovery and settlement are concerned.

For two centuries it was under the rule of the Dutch, who stamped their standards of language and political and social life so strongly on South Africa that they remain very important factors to-day. No other great British Dominion has so large a population of non-British Europeans. As we shall find, the difficulties arising among the European stocks were not easily arranged. The French in Canada, for instance, have caused little trouble to the British when compared with the Boers in South Africa. In addition, the British have had to face a more serious native situation in Africa than anywhere else in the great Dominions, with the exception of India. In the Union the proportion of dark-skinned peoples to the Europeans is as four to one; of the European stock, the British element is in the minority.

CAPE TOWN

The discovery of South Africa was the result of Portuguese activity. Under the inspiring guidance of Prince Henry the Navigator, daring seamen explored the African coast. In 1487 Bartholomew Diaz rounded the southern tip of the continent and named the stormy headland the "Cape of Tempests." But the Portuguese monarch, who saw the significance of the discovery, renamed it appropriately the "Cape of Good Hope," "for by this Cape shall we sail to India." Vision became reality in 1497 when Vasco da Gama sailed around Africa on his way to Calicut. It was on this voyage that the Portuguese navigator anchored off the coast

of Natal on Christmas Day, and gave to the shore the name it has since retained. Strangely enough, the Portuguese did not occupy the Cape even as a landing-station, but after leaving St. Helena they usually went to Mozambique for the next stop. If compelled to make an intermediate landing, it was usually at Delagoa Bay in what is now Portuguese East Africa.

When the Portuguese monopoly of East Indian trade gave way before Dutch and English competition in the seventeenth century, the Cape country became of great importance. The first fleet sent to the East by the English (in 1591) stopped at the Cape. The English, however, did not long need the Cape as a place to break the long voyage to India, as they had obtained St. Helena by the middle of the seventeenth century. When the French developed an eastern trade they used Madagascar and Mauritius as stopping-places. It fell to the Dutch to occupy the southern end of the African continent as a port of call and a victualing-station. The Dutch ships gradually came to use a convenient landing-place some thirty-five miles north of the Cape on the Atlantic coast known as "Table Bay." The outgoing and incoming fleets found it a refreshing break in the long voyage and not nearly so tempestuous as was generally supposed. Contrary to common belief, the natives proved friendly. Fresh meat could be obtained for a few trinkets, and letters could be left for other ships that were to stop at the Bay.

The impetus to a definite settlement was given by the wreck of a Dutch ship, the *Haarlem*, at Table Bay in 1648. After a five months' sojourn the survivors were rescued by the homeward-bound fleet. During their stay they had found the land fertile, and on their return to Holland their enthusiastic statements of the advantages of the station led to its occupation by the Dutch East India Company. An expedition of one hundred men landed at Table Bay in 1652. A fort was constructed and accommodations prepared for invalided soldiers and sailors. Early advantage was taken of the fertility of the soil about Cape Town for providing vegetables for the passing ships. The great value of a vict

ualing-station in those days was the opportunity it gave to obtain fresh meat and green vegetables. The great scourge of life on the sea was scurvy, a disease whose ravages are almost unbelievable.¹

The first step toward colonization was taken in 1657. Nine men left the Company's service in that year and settled just back of Cape Town. These "free burghers" or "boers" were given tools and seeds for their farms. They were obligated to offer their produce first to the Company; after the Company had purchased all that it desired they might then sell to foreigners. If cattle were purchased from the natives they could be disposed of only to the Company. The monopoly held by this great concern, both of the produce and of its disposition, illustrates the type of government for most of the Dutch period. For the greater part of the time before the British occupation the narrowly paternalistic monopoly of the Company was the system under which Cape Town and its developing environs were ruled.

THE NATIVES

As soon as the settlement became more than a stopping-place for East Indian fleets, contact with the natives was inevitable. There are three distinct native races in the territory where British South Africa now extends, the Bushmen, the Hottentots, and the Bantu. The Bushmen were the aborigines. They are a yellow-skinned people and short in stature. In a low stage of civilization, they had no organized form of government, were nomadic, did not work the soil, nor keep herds of cattle. They lived in the bush on the natural products of the ground and by hunting with their poisoned arrows. At the time that the Europeans came to the continent the Bushmen were located in the less desirable parts, as they had already succumbed to a stronger race. The Europeans were never seriously troubled by this people, nor they had little sense of property.

¹ For example, in 1695 a fleet of eleven ships arrived at Cape Town with 678 men so ill that they could not walk. Two years before, three Dutch ships had lost 500 men by scurvy before the vessels reached Cape Town on the outward voyage.

It was different with the Hottentots, the ruling people of South Africa when the Cape was settled. Until the opening of the nineteenth century they were the only important native group in touch with the expanding European colony. The Hottentot is taller than the Bushman and dark-skinned. He is higher in the scale of civilization, for, although nomadic, the race was formed into definite tribal groups under chiefs. They cultivated the soil and kept herds of cattle. For an indefinitely long period before the white man came, the Hottentots seem to have warred with the Bushmen and to have mingled racially with their more primitive enemies. It is possible that the difference between the Hottentot and the true negro type may be due to a cross between the Hottentots and the Bushmen. The Hottentots, because of their sense of property and their large flocks and herds, came into conflict with the Europeans in a very real way. Yet they offered little serious resistance, because of the lack of military organization and an incapacity for sustained war. They were located along the coasts and in the vicinity of the Orange River.

When European occupation extended eastward and northward beyond the home of the Hottentots, the settlers came into contact with a third native race known to ethnologists as the Bantu. Most of Africa south of the equator is occupied by tribes of this group, which is regarded as the true negro type. To the colonizing British and the trekking Boers they were a serious menace. The Bantu possessed a well-developed tribal system, and had a strong sense of property both in land and cattle. Their large herds were their chief form of wealth. The worth of a bride, for example, was computed in terms of a certain number of cattle, usually from ten to one hundred head. Above all, the Bantu tribes possessed a strong military sense, including a high degree of obedience and fearlessness. The charge of the *impi*, or native regiment, was something much to be dreaded. The emigrant Boers were able to withstand this fearless onslaught only by "laagering" their wagons; that is, by forming them in a compact circle much as the early pioneers of the American prairies defended themselves from Indian attacks.

It was peculiarly unfortunate for the advance of the white man that when he first came into contact with the Bantu it was with the strongly military tribes of this racial group. They comprise many tribes well known to the student of South African history, such as the Kafirs, the Xosas, the Matabele, and the Zulus. Farther north and in the interior the Bantu were, on the whole, more pacific. Such tribes as the Basutos, the Baralongs, and the Bechuanas have become known through missionary enterprise. It was among the Bakwains, a branch of the Bechuanas, that David Livingstone served as a missionary before he began his explorations of the more remote interior.

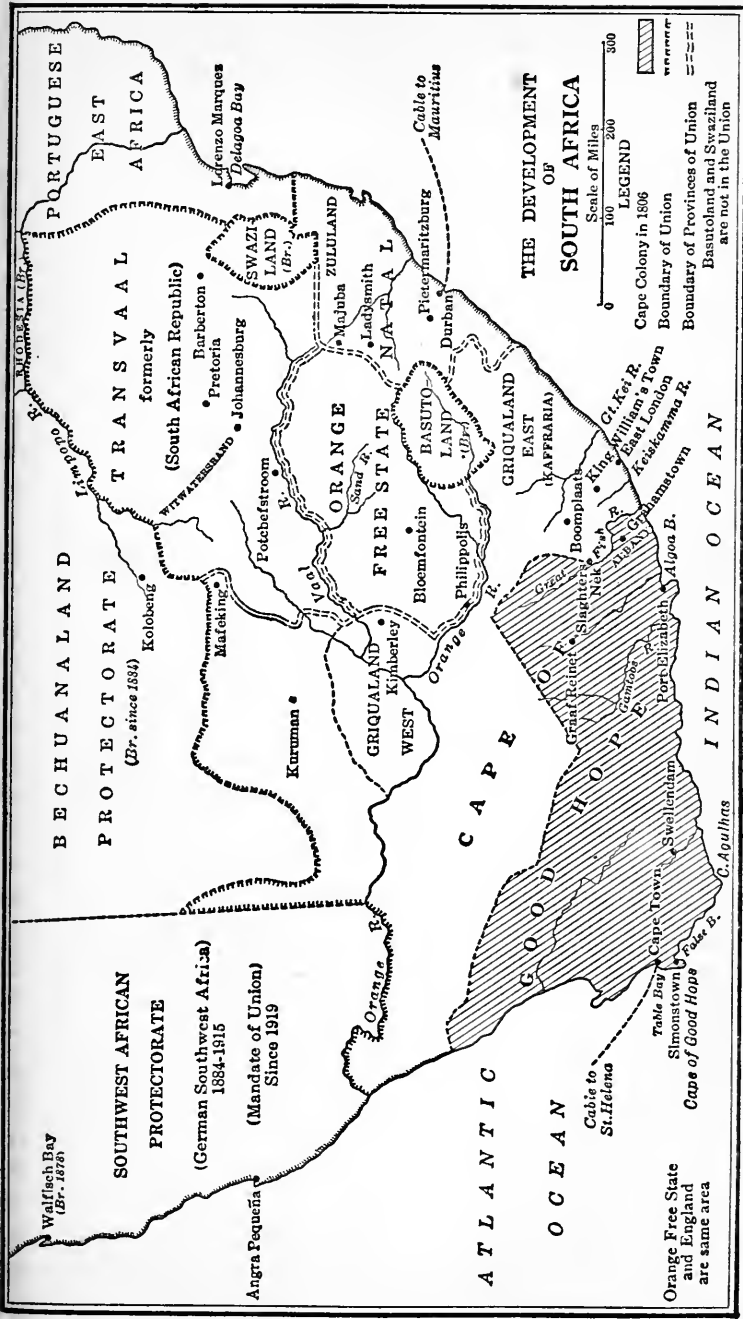
During the period of Dutch control, however, it was only with the Hottentots that the Europeans were concerned. Wars began with the expansion of the settlement at Table Bay. But the Hottentots were appeased by an early recognition of their rights and by the purchase of lands. The expansion of the settlements was given a powerful impetus by the immigration to the colony of some two hundred Huguenots, who came to the Cape shortly after Louis XIV of France revoked the Edict of Nantes (1685). They were settled in the newer districts, where they proved excellent additions to the population; in time they were absorbed by the dominant Dutch. The census of 1691 showed that the colony with its various outposts contained at that time about one thousand Europeans, of whom two thirds were Netherlanders.

During the eighteenth century expansion went on slowly. By 1700 the first barrier range had been crossed, and the white man began to penetrate the higher plateau region back from the coast. In addition to the growth inland, settlements were extended eastward along the south coast. The district of Swellendam was organized in 1745, and at the same time the eastern limit of the colony was declared to be the Gamtoos River — almost to Algoa Bay on which Port Elizabeth is now located. In the latter half of the century the Dutch went still farther east to the Fish River. It was in these border settlements that the magistracy of Graaf Reinet

was formed in 1786. By this gradual expansion the Dutch had occupied a stretch of territory about five hundred miles east and west along the coast, and averaging less than half that distance north and south.

This expansion to the Fish River brought the Dutch, in the latter part of the century, into relation for the first time with the Kafirs of Bantu stock. The Kafir tribes had been pushing southward during the time the Europeans were moving north and west. In 1779 occurred the so-called "First Kafir War." In 1793 a second conflict resulted in the temporary relinquishment of some land to the warlike Bantu. The Government at Cape Town seemed unable to realize the military character of these new enemies; it had been accustomed to Bushmen and Hottentots. But the farmers were fully aware of their danger, and felt discontented with the Cape Town Government for its lack of understanding of the border conditions.

By this time the Dutch East India Company had declined. Corruption and mismanagement were rife. Officials were chiefly concerned with taking bribes, and otherwise adding to their private fortunes. In 1791 the Stadtholder of Holland appointed a commission to investigate the affairs of the decadent trading concern, and to suggest methods of reform. When the commissioners arrived in South Africa, they were apprised by numerous memorials of the serious situation. Retrenchment was instituted, and the moribund company might have survived for some time longer had not other causes ended its rule. The American Revolution of 1776 and the French Revolution of 1789 had an influence even in South Africa. The French Declaration of the Rights of Man was furnishing the European inhabitants with ideas that were incompatible with the rule of a monopolistic trading company that had outlived its usefulness. In 1795 an insurrection occurred at Graaf Reinet, and Swellendam soon imitated the border district. A "National Assembly" was called. Tricolor badges were worn, the Company's officials were expelled, and a free republic was declared.



THE BRITISH OCCUPATION

Just at this juncture outside events of importance profoundly influenced this remote colonial establishment so intent on obtaining greater privileges. Holland was rent in two by party strife on account of the spread of French Revolutionary ideas. One party followed the House of Orange; the other was republican. Finally the Stadtholder was compelled to flee to England. In the meantime the British had gone to war with the French, and they were determined that the French should not obtain South Africa, even if they made successful advances against the Netherlands. After the war began the fugitive Stadtholder ceded the colony to the British, and in 1795 a fleet under Admiral Elphinstone appeared at the Cape and took over the colony.

The British occupation ceased in 1802, for by that time the Treaty of Amiens brought about a temporary peace between Napoleon and his great enemy. Along with the restoration of various other territories South Africa was handed back to Holland. The peace was of short duration, however, as hostilities were renewed in Europe after but a few months' respite. Napoleon, recently made Emperor, gathered a mighty army at Boulogne for the invasion of England, but the plans against his island neighbor failed, as the British retained command of the sea, a control that was made more certain by Nelson's victory at Trafalgar in 1805. The next year the Netherlands, which, as the Batavian Republic, had been practically a satellite of the French Republic, was made into the Kingdom of Holland with Louis Bonaparte as its King. In that same year Great Britain retook Cape Colony, in order to prevent the absorption by the Napoleonic Empire of this important possession on the road to India. This second occupation was to be permanent, for the Congress of Vienna in 1814 formally recognized Britain's possession of the Dutch colony in southern Africa.

Cape Colony, received by conquest in 1806, had a total population of seventy-five thousand, of whom one third were Europeans, and the rest negroes and slaves. The Dutch had

found expansion and colonization a slow and difficult process; the British were faced with even greater obstacles. During most of the period of Dutch rule the natives encountered were the unwarlike Hottentots. It has been noted, however, that just about the time the colony changed hands, the military Bantu loomed up as a standing menace to advance. The monotonous succession of Kafir wars became a constant strain on the British resources of men and money. But to the native question was now added a nationality problem. The European population was almost wholly Dutch. The Boers had idiosyncrasies, to be sure; they were parsimonious, persevering, set in their religious beliefs, and tenacious of their rights. The English rulers did not take very great pains to appreciate the Dutch inhabitants.

As it was, fusion did not occur. The presence of sufficient native manual labor and the slave-holding system of the farmers effectively prevented the migration of British laborers to South Africa at the time they were going in such numbers to Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. British farmers were so discouraged by the initial capital needed to develop the upland veld that there was little British immigration compared to that made to other dominions during the first two thirds of the nineteenth century. The British were confined largely to the official class and to the towns. During the years 1820 and 1821 about five thousand British immigrants settled in the Albany district back of Algoa Bay. Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown became their chief communities. They introduced British local administration in this part of the colony, and helped to give something of a British character to the population of this stretch of the south coast.

During the early years of the British occupation troubles were almost constant with the Kafirs, with whom five distinct wars had been fought by 1833. The Albany district with the Fish River as its eastern boundary was the chief sufferer. The depredations of the Kafirs consisted in the murder of farmers and the taking away of stock. A Cape corps of Hottentots was formed for the defense of the boundary. These, with regulars and frontier farmers, did their best to

protect the borderland. In the Fifth Kafir War, when the conflict was finally carried into the enemy's country, the invaders captured 32,000 head of cattle. The next river east of the Fish, known as the "Keiskamma," was declared the boundary, and the territory between the two rivers was to remain uninhabited and to be patrolled by the Hottentot Corps for the safety of the Albany settlers. This was in 1819. In the Sixth Kafir War (1834-35) the depredations of the Bantu were terrible. Over 120,000 cattle and horses were taken away and even a larger number of small animals. Heavy fighting occurred before the natives were driven back of the Kei River (about seventy miles east of the Keiskamma). The Kei was now proclaimed the boundary, and a fort was established at King William's Town to hold the new frontier.

To the amazement of the colonists, who had won this extension by hard fighting, the home Government vetoed the new measure, and returned to the Kafirs all the territory east of the Fish River. This action was due to Charles Grant, later Lord Glenelg, at the time Secretary of State for War and the Colonies. He was not interested in colonial expansion. His point of view is well illustrated by his opposition to the extension of responsible government to Canada and his unfriendliness to the efforts of the systematic colonizers in Australia and New Zealand. In the South African question he frankly took the side of the native. Among other things his dispatch declared: "In the conduct which was pursued toward the Kafir nation by the colonists and the public authorities of the colony through a long series of years, the Kafirs had an ample justification of the war into which they rushed. . . . The claim of sovereignty over the new province bounded by the Keiskamma and the Kei must be renounced. It rests upon a conquest resulting from a war in which, as far as I am at present enabled to judge, the original justice is on the side of the conquered, not of the victorious party." ¹

¹ Theal, *History of South Africa*, iv, 58. Johnston characterizes Lord Glenelg as a "sentimental doctrinaire, who had evolved from his inner consciousness an unreal South Africa in which Kafir raiders of oxen were noble-minded black kings, whom a harsh proconsul was dispossessing of their ancestral territories." *The Colonization of Africa*, p. 260.

The chief explanation of Lord Glenelg's attitude and action was his close relation to and sympathy with the work of the missionary societies. The humanitarian feeling so widely prevalent at this time in England found a natural expression for what seemed a downtrodden and mistreated negro race. The British missionaries found much to condemn in the Boer treatment of the natives, whether they were slaves or freemen. But the charges seem to have been feverishly exaggerated, in spite of the fact that Dutch morality was not much more advanced than that of the Hebrew patriarchs. It is certainly true that the missionaries widened the breach between the Dutch farmers and the British Government. As early as 1808 charges were made against the Dutch by the missionaries on account of their treatment of the natives, charges that a full investigation only partially confirmed. The greatest advocate for the South African native was Dr. John Philip. He believed the native, save in matters of education, equal to the European. In 1828 he published his *Researches in South Africa* with the purpose of showing the way in which the native was abused. Whatever the facts in the case, the feeling of resentment felt by the farmers and South African British officials was greatly aroused by this volume. Those in intimate touch with the Hottentots and the Bantu had not found them such perfect specimens of the "noble savage" as a missionary imagination had pictured them to the British reading public.

The Dutch farmers were particularly incensed against a government that was guilty of so impractical an attitude. In addition, they had other causes for resentment. In 1813 a farmer by the name of Bezuidenhout was accused of mistreating a Hottentot servant. He refused to appear at court and military forces were used to obtain him. The Boers were particularly irritated by the use of the Hottentot corps for the capture of Bezuidenhout. As an outgrowth of this incident a conflict occurred between Boer insurgents and government troops at Slaughter's Nek. The bitterness of the Boers was greatly increased when the authorities hanged five of the captured rebels — an unnecessarily harsh act. About

this time legislation was passed favoring the Hottentots and putting them on a practical legal equality with the whites, to the great disgust of the Dutch.

The abolition of slavery in 1833 was the climax for the Dutch farmers. This humanitarian step was empire-wide and grew out of the feeling of sympathy for the weak and oppressed, which we have already remarked as strong in Britain at this time. The abolition was not immediate; the slaves were to remain with their masters as apprentices for five years. But the compensation paid by the Government seemed altogether inadequate. The great losers in South Africa were the Dutch, for they were dependent upon a large use of native labor in the operation of their farms and the care of their herds.

THE GREAT TREK

The effect of these accumulated grievances was far-reaching. The more irreconcilable element among the Boers determined to move northward out of the bounds of British jurisdiction where they would be free to live according to their own standards. Retief, the pioneer leader, published in the *Grahamstown Journal* in 1837 the reasons for the departure of himself and his companions. They included evils resulting from vagrants who infested the country, the losses growing out of the emancipation, the system of plunder endured from the Kafirs, the "unjustifiable odium which has been cast upon us by interested and dishonest persons in the name of religion."

The first party of thirty wagons left in 1834. The movement continued until 1840. During these years about ten thousand Boers trekked northward across the Orange River. It was a hard undertaking, as the country was rough and progress was necessarily slow. Much real danger was encountered when the emigrants came into the country of the military Bantu. It took courage and endurance of a high order to make this pilgrimage for a new home, and as such it has always aroused great admiration. Piet Retief, Andries Potgieter, Gerrit Maritz, and Andries Pretorius were prominent

in the leadership of the migration. Paul Kruger, later a President of the South African Republic, was but a boy when the Great Trek took place.

Fortune did not favor the attempt of the trekkers to settle in Natal. The Zulus under their leader Dingaan offered a fierce resistance to the newcomers. It was only after much costly fighting that Natal was temporarily occupied and the city of Pietermaritzburg founded. More important was the conquest of the lands north of the Orange River whence the warlike Matabele were driven northward into the district that now bears their name.

In the new territory north of the Orange a government was soon organized by the trekkers. It is of interest to note that in the earliest Grondwet or Constitution civil and political equality between white and colored persons was not recognized, and rights of citizenship were granted only when an oath had been taken that a person had had no connection with the London Missionary Society. The Boers regarded themselves as divinely led in their work, for the meetings at which this constitution was adopted were opened and closed with prayer and the singing of psalms. There was a Volksraad with legislative and judicial functions and a Commandant-General.

The Government was not altogether effective. The British felt that the Orange River settlements served as a refuge for fugitives from justice in Cape Colony. In addition, trouble developed between the Boers and the Griquas to the west of the new settlements. This native people claimed the protection of Cape Colony. In 1845 Governor Maitland gave the Griquas military assistance, and three years later his successor, Sir Harry Smith, came to the conclusion that peace could be maintained only by the establishment of a regular government. He, therefore, issued a proclamation of sovereignty declaring all the country between the Orange and Vaal Rivers a British dependency under the name of the Orange River British Sovereignty." The Boers under Pretorius took up arms, but in the Battle of Boomplaats they were defeated. As a result of this act of Sir Harry Smith the

people who had moved beyond the confines of the British system in the thirties found themselves enmeshed in it again by the middle of the century.

The irreconcilables were compelled to move northward a second time. This time there was a considerable migration across the Vaal into what is now known as the Transvaal. Emigrant farmers had settled in this more remote district long before 1848, and already the Matabele had been driven from this territory to the north of the Limpopo River. Many of the Boers who settled in western Natal, but later found it an undesirable home, moved on into the Transvaal. The country north of the Vaal suffered from much disorder during the second quarter of the nineteenth century, where there was even less effective governmental control than in the Orange River Sovereignty. Potgieter and Pretorius were the chief Boer leaders in the northern colony, but they would not coöperate, and their inability to work together kept the Transvaal in an unsettled state.

The British were not long in control of the Orange River Sovereignty before a strange reversal of policy occurred that set both the Boer colonies beyond the control of Great Britain. The British had not been successful in bringing order into the Orange River district. The prevailing anarchy led the republican party to petition Pretorius (now in the Transvaal) to come to their assistance and give the country a peaceful but non-British administration. Naturally the British resented this. Commissioners were sent from Cape Colony to inquire into conditions; they met Pretorius and several hundred Transvaal farmers on the Sand River in January, 1852. There the Sand River Convention was agreed upon; by it the Transvaal was promised the right to manage its own affairs without any British interference. The British further agreed not to push their claims nor make tribal alliances beyond the Vaal River. The Boers, on their part, agreed to the prohibition of slavery and slave-trading. Both declared that they would not furnish war material to the native tribes. In this Convention peace, free trade, and friendly intercourse were provided for in a friendly manner.

or the northern Boer colony. But the people south of the Vaal declared that Pretorius had betrayed them by making terms for the northern district only. He tried to meet this objection by inviting the anti-British inhabitants to cross the river where farms would be provided for those that came.

Two years later the British retired voluntarily from the Orange River Sovereignty. The constant wars with the Santu had been a heavy strain upon the Government. When the Orange River Sovereignty was taken over, the load for the taxpayers was increased. The Basuto Wars of 1851 and 1852 came as a final argument for the abandonment of this district. Earl Grey, the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, had agreed unwillingly, in the first place, to the assumption of authority beyond the Orange River. Although Englishmen had settled there in the years following 1848, the country, in spite of their protests, was declared independent from British authority by the Convention of Bloemfontein in 1854. The terms of this Convention were similar to those made two years before with the Transvaal, including the prohibition of slavery and the slave-trade in the Orange Free State.

By these two treaties the Boer states became self-governing, the one south of the Vaal as the Orange Free State, its northern neighbor as the South African Republic. It is not necessary to follow in detail the growth of these states in the years before the discovery of gold and diamonds. The southern republic, which made a constitution in the year it was freed, chose as its first President Josias Philip Hoffmann. For the first ten years dissension continued, until Jan Hendrik Brand was elected President of the Orange Free State in 1864. He was reelected four times, administering the country continuously from 1864 until his death in 1888. Under his excellent leadership prosperity and order came to the republic.

In the Transvaal confusion reigned for some time after the Rand River Convention. Both Potgieter and Andries Pretorius died in 1853. Two years later a new constitution was drafted by a committee of three, one of whom was Paul Kru-

ger. Marthinus Pretorius, son of the great trekker, was an early President. But discord, even civil war, was too often the order of the day. Sir George Grey, Governor of Cape Colony during this period, declared that matters had reached such a stage in the Transvaal that he was at a loss to know who was the head of the Government. Anarchy was partially overcome in 1864 with the general recognition of Marthinus Pretorius as President and of Paul Kruger as Commandant-General.

Just about the time the Conventions were being arranged the Transvaal Boers came into conflict with a distinguished missionary of the hated London Missionary Society, David Livingstone. He was stationed at Kolobeng among the Bakwains on the western border of the Boer territory. Pretorius threatened to kill Livingstone if he caught him. Fortunately for the famous missionary, he was on a visit to the Cape in 1852 when a party of Boers attacked Kolobeng. Dr. Livingstone aroused the hatred of the Boers by his unmeasured condemnation of their treatment of the natives; he felt that it amounted to practical slavery. The Boers were not influenced by the ideas of equality spread by the French Revolution, nor by the humanitarianism that had so greatly affected the life of England at the opening of the century. Yet Governor Sir George Grey of Cape Colony, who made investigations at this time, found the Boers to be, on the whole, considerate of and kindly to the natives. The code of the Dutch farmers was very different from that of the London Missionary Society; it was uncompromising in its recognition of racial inequality. The true position on this vexed question probably lies between the extreme stand of the Dutch farmer and that of the British missionary.

CAPE COLONY

The internal development of Cape Colony went on more rapidly after the Great Trek than before. The home Government had less hesitancy in granting representative institutions after the more anti-British elements left the colony. Petitions were presented from time to time asking for a be-

ter system than an appointed Legislative Council offered. A question that arose early was as to whether the eastern districts should be separated from the older part of the colony, or whether the capital should be moved farther eastward so as to be in closer touch with the frontier. Earl Grey asked the Cape Government for an expression of its wish on this and other matters. The colony decided to stay as a unit with Cape Town as the capital. A draft constitution was presented to the home Government and the assurance was given that the Dutch and the British would get on well together under a more representative system.

The Constitution was finally drafted in 1853. It provided for two houses of Parliament, a Legislative Council, and a House of Assembly. Members to both were elected on the basis of a property qualification. The Governor could dissolve the chambers at will. Although Parliament was to be convened at least once a year, its acts were to be subject to a double veto, that of the Governor and that of the Crown. This constitution provided for representative but not responsible government. In 1855 both houses passed resolutions favoring the further step. The authorities, however, were not yet prepared for the advance, and it was not until 1872 that responsible government became a fact in Cape Colony. Since that time this part of the British Empire has lived under the familiar system of a ministry enjoying the confidence of Parliament.

Reference should be made to the administration of Sir George Grey. His accomplishments in South Australia and New Zealand have been recounted in an earlier chapter. In 1854 he was sent to Cape Town as Governor of Cape Colony and High Commissioner of South Africa. His signal success with the Maoris in New Zealand led to his appointment to a field where the relation of native and Britisher was not satisfactory. Sir George Grey was in Cape Colony until 1861, earnestly endeavoring to aid the Kafirs and at the same time to keep them under due control. He preserved satisfactory relations with the Boer states, although he disapproved of the British relinquishment of control over the Orange River

Sovereignty. He even went counter to official instructions when he encouraged the return of the Boer states to the British Empire. Sir George Grey was an enthusiastic advocate of federation fifty years before it became a fact.

The expansion of Cape Colony continued after the Great Trek. It will be recalled that Lord Glenelg ordered the territory between the Keiskamma and the Kei to be returned to the Kafirs. Notwithstanding this concession, raids continued and the frontier was never safe. After a Seventh Kafir War in 1846, the boundary was again extended to the Kei, and a new district known as "British Kaffraria" was organized. This district was not at first a part of Cape Colony, but was administered by the Governor as High Commissioner of South Africa. It was annexed in 1865 after the native population had been greatly diminished by famine.¹

Basutoland, another thickly populated native territory, was a serious menace to both Boers and British. It is located in the mountainous district just east of the Orange Free State. During the numerous wars it became a refuge for the natives of various tribes, who combined under the guidance of a wise leader named Moshesh. As a result of much trouble with the Boers, the Basutos appealed to Great Britain. In 1871, shortly after the death of Moshesh, the land was annexed to Cape Colony. It later was separated from Cape Colony and to-day is directly under the Crown, in a closer relation to the British Government than that held by the dependent native states of India.

In the same year that Basutoland was annexed, the territory known as Griqualand West — north of the Orange River and west of the Orange Free State — was added to Cape Col-

¹ The starvation of thousands of Kafirs in 1857 was the result of their own delusions. A priest declared that he had received a message directing the Kafirs to destroy all their corn and cattle, for their ancestors, on the fulfillment of that condition, would reappear and bring with them cattle bigger and better than they had possessed before. On the fateful day, February 18, the sun was to turn back and set in the east after ascending for a time toward the zenith. The great purpose of the return of the ancestors was to be the total destruction of the British. The Kafirs followed the advice of their priest with the result that thousands starved, despite every effort made to help them, and 100,000 had to leave Kafirland and seek employment in Cape Colony.

ony. A chief reason was the discovery of diamonds in this district at Kimberley.

One other British possession in South Africa remains for consideration. Natal is located beyond Kaffraria on the east coast; at its back lies Basutoland and the Orange Free State. We have followed Boer trekkers who came into this district in 1838. Even before the Boer invasion the British had occupied the coast and started settlements, notably at the present site of the city of Durban. The two white races came into conflict early in the forties, with the result that Natal was declared a dependency of the Cape in 1844. The great part of the Boers thereupon trekked northwestward. In 1848 Natal obtained a separate legislature and in 1856 was made an independent colony, under a constitution much less liberal than that granted to the Cape in 1853. Responsible government was not granted until the close of the century.

The European settlements multiplied and grew during the period of European occupation and Boer emigration. When the British came into permanent possession of South Africa in 1806, there were 75,000 inhabitants, one third of whom were Europeans. By 1870 the approximate white population of Cape Colony was 175,000, of Natal 25,000, of the Orange Free State 60,000, and of the Transvaal 50,000. The development since 1870 has been rapid, and to-day the Union of South Africa comprises a million and a half whites and wealth many times greater than that possessed when Kimberley suddenly leaped into fame. The discovery of remarkable wealth in diamonds and gold, which gave an impetus to immigration not unlike the Australian gold discoveries of twenty years before, accounts in large part for the sudden acceleration of population and wealth. But the complexities and troubles as well as the growth of South Africa during the last fifty years must be reserved for a later chapter and a more detailed treatment.

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CHAPTER XVII

IMPERIAL INTERESTS OF THE VICTORIAN AGE

WHEN Victoria became the Queen of England in 1837, the possessions over which she was to rule were widespread indeed. Her Empire included great holdings such as Canada and India, numerous islands, and small beginnings in far-away lands south of the equator that did not, in 1837, seem to be capable of the surprising growth they have since made. In fact, the Empire Queen Victoria inherited was still embryonic. As we have seen, there was a great apathy toward colonial possessions after the loss of the thirteen American colonies.¹ The expensive Napoleonic wars served to arouse further question in the minds of many British thinkers as to the value of money and effort expended on oversea dominions. Yet it will be recalled that even before 1837 there was evidence of a keener interest in the colonies. The flow of emigrants to British possessions beyond the seas attached new value to these homes of English-speaking people. Enthusiastic colonizers promoted schemes for the development of the newly occupied regions in establishments as far removed as New Zealand, Manitoba, and South Africa. In tracing the expansion and anglicizing of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa we have been able to visualize this amazing change. Canada had been transformed from a French-speaking river settlement, Australia from a penal station, South Africa from a Dutch trading and agricultural colony, into new Englands beyond the sea, which were being more and more closely united to Britain by the indefinable bonds of sentiment. The constantly accelerating growth of the Industrial Revolution naturally increased the value of the colonies as sources of raw materials and as probable markets for British manufactures. A new colonial empire was in formation because of these various forces at work, and that,

¹ See chapter XI.

too, in spite of much opposition to, and gross ignorance of, the colonies in the early nineteenth century.¹

What makes the Victorian Age so important are the very great changes the British Empire went through in the later years of the century. It is essential to understand, even though in this connection the survey be but superficial, the character of the influences that so profoundly modified and developed the older holdings into the more compact organization of the present day. During this time there was no ordered development of the Empire. Parts of it were well advanced and received many privileges. Other possessions were little more than military posts. The organism was a hybrid. And yet, in spite of its heterogeneity, the British Empire became, during the reign of Victoria, a well-knit, political unit. It is significant to compare the inauspicious beginnings of the reign with its magnificent close. In 1837 there was a distressing rebellion in Canada. Sixty years later the Diamond Jubilee was held, where the Premier that made the most notable impression at the Colonial Conference in that year was the French Canadian, Sir Wilfrid Laurier. The Jubilee announced to the world that the British Empire had intense loyalty and enthusiasm for a queen who symbolized this unity in a very appealing way.

Before proceeding to a study of the recent growth and present character of the various parts of the imperial organism we must survey the dominions as a whole and appraise the influences that wrought such changes within sixty years.

THE BRITISH MONOPOLY

The period that we are studying naturally divides itself into two almost equal parts. In the first half of the reign th

¹ Readers will probably be familiar with the anecdote told of the well-known Lord Palmerston, successively Foreign Secretary, Home Secretary and Prime Minister during the second quarter of the century. Palmerston once introduced himself at the Colonial Office with the words: "I have come to look after the colonies — in the first place, where are the colonies?" In 1852 Disraeli, who was later to be one of the most ardent Imperialists, exclaimed à propos of the fisheries dispute between Canada and the United States: "These wretched colonies will all be independent too in a few years, and are a millstone round our necks" (quoted in Hall, *British Commonwealth of Nations*, p. 47).

Empire stood almost unrivaled. This part of the Victorian Age has been aptly termed the period of British monopoly. The United States was concerning itself wholly with continental expansion by pushing westward its frontier. Germany was not able as yet to interest itself in outside matters. Spain, Portugal, and Holland held empires that were unchanging in form or government — not essentially different from the days when they were established. In fact France was the only European nation that was showing an interest in new colonies during the first part of this period, but French efforts were confined to fields with which Great Britain was not concerned. As a result there was none of the anxiety felt by British statesmen for the oversea possessions that has governed thought and action so powerfully in the last thirty-five years.

As a consequence, the natural interests of Englishmen were influencing the character of the new Empire during the mid-century period. There was neither haste nor anxiety as a factor governing colonial attitudes. Probably foremost among the forces at work was the humanitarian interest which prevailed, not only in regard to affairs at home, but also in the colonies. Many of the results of the growing sensitiveness to wrong in the decades following the French Revolution have been noted.¹ The prisons were relieved of criminals by transportation, especially to the new Australian settlements. Paupers and other unfortunates were sent across the seas to find new homes. Better conditions were granted to downtrodden Ireland.

A more important effect of this humanitarian interest on colonial life was the feeling growing during this time against slavery and the slave-trade. In 1807, to the credit of the nation that had formerly done so much of the carrying of human chattels, the slave-trade was abolished. British policy from this time on aimed at the abolition of the slave-trade among other nations. At the Congress of Vienna, in 1814-15, the British representatives were influential in having the Powers proclaim their adoption of the principle Great Brit-

¹ See pp. 166 ff., 196 ff., 208, 254, 256-57, 268 ff.

ain had so much at heart. Shortly after Queen Victoria began to reign, an agreement was reached by the United States and Great Britain whereby they were to coöperate in suppressing the slave-trade off the coast of Africa.

The abolition of slavery in the dominions of Great Britain is even more creditable to her humanitarian feeling. In 1833 the victory was won by the abolitionists for the whole Empire; a bill was passed by Parliament providing for the gradual abolition of slavery, apprenticeship to continue for a period in order to make the transition to free labor easier. Twenty million pounds was paid to the slave-owners throughout the Empire. The effect of this measure on the slaveholding Boers of South Africa has been recounted.¹ In the West Indies, especially in the island of Jamaica, considerable trouble was caused by the measure. The Act of 1833 showed to the world that the British Empire was not to be a field for the further merciless exploitation of backward races, even though abolition caused temporary economic inconvenience.

The humanitarian spirit found further expression in the interest shown by the home country in the betterment of the conditions under which natives in the colonies were living. Lord Bentinck's reforms in India serve as an illustration.² The interest in the Hottentots of South Africa, in the Maoris of New Zealand, and in the natives of other possessions was an expression of this widely applied sympathy. During the first half of the century the missionary societies were an important, if not the controlling, influence in the home Government's attitude toward the colonies.³ This tendency to make the Colonial Office more carefully recognize the needs of native races has given to British imperial develop-

¹ See p. 270.

² See chapter XIII.

³ In 1792 the Baptist Missionary Society was organized, and Carey was sent to India in spite of the opposition of the East India Company to missionary activity. The London Missionary Society, a Congregational body, was founded in 1795; it has been especially important in South Africa and Polynesia. The Church Missionary Society, in which Lord Glenelg was much interested, was founded in 1799 but did not receive the recognition of the Episcopate for nearly fifty years. Its missionaries were particularly important in Melanesia and New Zealand. The Wesleyans had sent missionaries to various colonial fields before the opening of the nineteenth century, although the Wesleyan society was not organized until 1814.

ment a finer moral tone than has been general in colonial policy. As has been already pointed out, South Africa did not profit altogether from this extreme consideration of the natives. The marked warlike propensities of the Bantu and the uncompromising attitude of the Boers toward the subject population made the British problem in South Africa particularly difficult.

The development of the humanitarian spirit resulted in a fairer treatment of colonial native races. On the other hand, the growth of British industry and commerce tended toward relaxation of the bonds between the colonies and the home country, and resulted in a fairer treatment of the various parts of the Empire. The old colonial system with its restrictive navigation laws had been built on monopoly and exploitation. The weakness of this system was explained by Adam Smith as far back as the beginning of the American Revolution. Little, however, was done to improve the situation within the Empire until after the close of the Napoleonic wars. In 1820 the *Merchants' Petition*, asking for greater freedom of trade, was presented to the House of Commons. Three years later Huskisson became President of the Board of Trade. He did much to improve the situation, altering some of the Navigation Laws, reducing duties on raw materials from foreign countries, and wholly removing the tax on those from the colonies.

When the reign of Queen Victoria opened, the free-trade movement had acquired considerable momentum. The Industrial Revolution had so increased the business prosperity and commercial supremacy of Great Britain that the manufacturers became more convinced than ever of the advantages of free trade. Cheaper food would naturally cheapen wages as well as bring greater efficiency to the workshops. The loss of duties would be counterbalanced by the increased capacity of the country to pay taxes. In the forties the repeal of protective duties came rapidly. A high point was reached when the Corn Laws were legislated out of existence in 1846. In 1849 the old Navigation Laws were repealed. And when Gladstone became Chancellor of the

Exchequer further steps were taken that made Greater Britain more than ever a free-trade Empire.

As a result of these measures, the new colonial Empire, by the mid-century, was placed on an altogether different basis from that of the old colonial system of the early eighteenth century. The colonies were freed from hampering laws made by the home Government. Yet this new policy did not seem to harm the British Isles or the colonies. The one found the phenomenal development of the Industrial Revolution an ample protection, while the colonies for that very reason saw in the home country the best market for raw materials. It followed, of course, that Britain became the emporium for colonial trade. By 1859 so far had this movement gone toward *laissez-faire* that Britain allowed her self-governing colonies practical independence in financial matters. The growth of protectionist ideas was not to assume importance until the British Empire began to feel the menace of rivals in her industrial and commercial activity at the opening of the twentieth century.

In the field of government there was the same tendency toward a relaxation of the hold on the colonies. The Reform Bill of 1832, by which the franchise was more equitably distributed in Great Britain, became law only after the repeated efforts of Lord John Russell, in particular, to further reform. This grant of greater privileges to the people of the British Isles was but preliminary to more freedom in the political affairs of the colonies. The American colonies had revolted in the previous century on the question of self-government. It was not unnatural that their experience should be paralleled when the Canadian provinces came to greater maturity. Great Britain, however, did not attempt to solve this new problem by force. Instead Lord Durham was sent out to examine the causes of the Canadian Rebellion. In his famous Report he proposed that self-government be granted to the British North American provinces.¹ Although Lord Durham's recommendations met with much opposition, his ideas were gradually accepted. Under his son-in-law a

¹ See pp. 225 ff.

governor-General, Canada became practical master of her own political life: Lord Elgin did not exercise the veto with the freedom of earlier governors; he preferred to let the will of the majority in the colonial legislature decide matters affecting colonial life.

Lord Elgin received instructions as to his plan of action from a Colonial Secretary who holds an important place in the growth of representative government in the Empire. In 1846 the third Earl Grey was appointed the Secretary for War and the Colonies in the newly formed Cabinet of Lord John Russell. Both the Prime Minister and the Colonial Secretary were earnest believers in colonial self-government for the well-advanced dominions. They also held that the colonies, not yet prepared for self-government, should be retained for greater privileges by definite probation. When Lord Elgin promoted the principle of self-government in Canada by going so far as to accept the Indemnity Bill for the rebels of 1837, Earl Grey upheld the Canadian Governor.

This significant action took place in 1847; it marks the beginning of a process that is still in operation. Three years later a second step was taken in granting constitutional privileges to colonies. In a noteworthy speech the Prime Minister showed that his grant of privileges to the colonies was not intended to weaken but rather to strengthen their connection with the mother country. New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania, and South Australia were given the right to choose constituent assemblies and to make their own constitutions or constitutions that were sanctioned by the home Government in 1856. The constitution of New Zealand went into effect in 1853 and Newfoundland was granted responsible government in 1855. This principle of granting representative institutions and responsible government to the strong English-speaking colonies continued and was applied as the opportunity arose. Cape Colony in 1872, Western Australia in 1890, and the Boer Republics after the war with England were added to the group of self-governing dominions.

Great Britain was able to develop her Empire leisurely during these early years of the reign of Victoria. The British

dominions were enlarged, but there was no hurried, conscious effort to snatch up the desirable additions to British territory. Canada grew westward across the plains, India absorbed territories to the northwest and the northeast, the Australian coast-line became more and more British, Cape Colony reached out east and north. The importance of the period nevertheless, rests not in the additions made to the Empire so much as in the adoption for the government of the Empire of the ideals we have been considering.

The problem of defense was not a serious one until the Crimean War in the fifties made the need of army reorganization abundantly evident. As time went on, the British statesmen concerned with colonial policy tended to turn over to the self-governing colonies more and more the problem of their own protection. This meant a withdrawal of many isolated garrisons from colonial stations during this time of reorganization, and their establishment at more strategic points.

During the third quarter of the century international relations became more and more important for Greater Britain. Her widely scattered dominions brought her into touch with almost every important diplomatic problem. To state but a few of the more outstanding happenings of the time is to register a need for increased care on the part of the Empire. Hardly had the Crimean War ended before the Indian possessions were endangered by the Mutiny. In 1859 occurred the Franco-Italian War with Austria. In 1861 began the Civil War in the United States. Both these conflicts raised delicate questions for the British Foreign Minister. In 1870 the Franco-Prussian War gave Europe a new master in Prussia. German unity was achieved in the defeat of France and Italians took the opportunity of completing the work of uniting the Italian states under one government. Austria and France became weaker, but Prussia grew very much stronger, becoming a potent continental and world-power. Russia, in the meantime, was expanding. As a result of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, the Ottoman Empire seemed well-nigh ejected from Europe. But the Great Powers, Brit-

in included, feared the menace of an overgrown Russia and revised the Russian rearrangement of the Balkans at the Congress of Berlin in 1878. The meetings of this great Congress revealed the essential characteristics of the European situation in the latter part of the nineteenth century — the important place of Germany and the disagreement of the Powers over the disposition of the territories of weak states.

These rapid changes in European matters naturally aroused concern in British governmental circles. Imperial interests became more and more important. The Empire took on new value in the eyes of British statesmen. The man who contributed most during this time to the increased official interest in the Empire was Benjamin Disraeli. In his two ministries (1868 and 1874–80), he labored earnestly for the strengthening and extension of the dominions. In 1875 he purchased the Suez Canal shares. In the following year Victoria became Empress of India, the “White Queen over the Seas.” In 1877 the Transvaal was annexed, in the next year the government of Cyprus was assumed, and the occupation of Egypt began in 1882. A new imperialism gave to the British Empire deeper significance and a greater value.

Disraeli was not alone among prominent Englishmen in the advocacy of an aggressive and confident imperial policy. James Anthony Froude, the historian, who had visited South Africa in 1874–75, and Australia and the West Indies in the eighties, made these parts of the Empire better known by the published accounts of his impressions. Sir Charles Dilke, on leaving Cambridge, journeyed around the world, and published his observations on his return under the title *Greater Britain: A Record of Travel in English-Speaking Countries during 1866–7*. This work met a wide demand and was issued in enlarged form in 1875 as a result of a second journey. In 1890 his book of travel was brought up to date and made more directly valuable as a store of knowledge regarding the Empire in his well-known *Problems of Greater Britain*. The advanced Liberal, William E. Forster, was an advocate of imperial federation as early as 1875, and the chief founder and first president of the Imperial Federation League. Sir

George Grey's enthusiasm for Greater Britain has already been recorded.¹ Another colonial administrator, Sir Bartle Frere, was also important in spreading an interest in the Empire as well as in furnishing leadership in India and South Africa. We shall have occasion to study in a later chapter the work of Cecil Rhodes, who went to Kimberley in 1871. One of the most earnest exponents of the new imperialism was the historian, Sir John Seeley. In 1883 he published the *Expansion of England*. It won for him knighthood, and has served as a very important if not a chief means of spreading the new conception of the Empire. A poet of wide imperial vision was found in Rudyard Kipling, born in Bombay in 1865.²

RIVAL EMPIRES

The motive power, however, for the new British imperialism came not solely from within. One of the greatest stimuli to this freshened interest in the oversea dominions was the appearance of rival empires during these momentous years. The marvelous growth of British industry and commerce was not incorrectly connected by onlookers with the numerous possessions Britain held "in fee." As the Industrial Revolution took a stronger hold on the continental European nations, it was natural that they should consider empire necessary to the development of their own internal resources. Besides, the very pride and position of Britain with her "far-flung dominion" engendered an envy that was soon to result in the creation of strong rivals. So important is an understanding of this competition as a factor in forming the British Empire of to-day that a brief survey must be made of the other imperial dominions created in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

¹ Chapter xvi.

² Kipling's tales of Indian life did much to popularize this distant possession. By 1889 Kipling had become famous, and as the years went on he inveighed with increasing force against "little Englandism." A broad imperial feeling was in no small measure the result of his exhilarating appeals. The call came in such well-known and unforgettable songs as "The Ballad of the East and the West" (1889), "The English Flag" (1891), "The Native Born" (1894), "Our Lady of the Snows" (Canada) (1897), "The Recessional" (1897), and "The Houses (A Song of the Dominions)" (1898).

France has one of the great empires of the present time, in spite of the fact that most of the old Empire was lost to Great Britain in the eighteenth century. When the Napoleonic wars ended, France retained but a few insignificant and widely scattered posts and islands. The first important addition to the new Empire was the result of bringing Algeria under the French flag and an orderly rule. Beginning with an attempt to suppress piracy, a gradual occupation of the country was carried on, so that by the end of the reign of Louis Philippe (1848) this part of the north African coast was French. During the Second Empire the Senegal Valley was added to the formerly small French possessions in equatorial Africa; beginnings had also been made in Cochin China.

It was not until after the disastrous Franco-Prussian War that France began to have ambitious imperial plans. The people of the humiliated country had their attention turned to colonies by Jules Ferry in the hope that the loss of Alsace-Lorraine might not remain so poignant. In 1881 Tunis was occupied, in spite of a strong feeling in Italy that this part of the African coast was by right Italian. A notable addition to the French Empire was the island of Madagascar, which was taken in the nineties. From Algeria it was but natural that the work of penetration should be carried farther west into Morocco, where, in spite of German attempts to prevent it, a French protectorate was established in 1912. France had come into collision with British interests in Upper Egypt just at the close of the nineteenth century, but, as a result of the settlement of the Sudan boundaries, better relations ensued between these two empire builders. Even cordial good feeling and coöperation were the result. To-day the French possessions in Africa occupy more of the continent than those of any other nation.

The Russian Empire, until its disintegration in the World War, was the greatest continuous stretch of territory under one government to be found on the globe. The great bulk of Russia and Siberia had been acquired before France started to rebuild her Empire in the nineteenth century. But Russia, too, has made notable additions in recent years.

After long wars Russia became mistress of the Caucasus region, and the way was opened to northeastern Turkey. During the nineteenth century the Kirghiz Steppes and Turkestan were slowly brought under the power of the Czar. By this advance northern Persia came under the control of the enlarging Russia, and, in the years just before the World War, Britain and Russia even mapped out for themselves spheres of influence in Persia. As a result of Russian advances into Bokhara, the British in India became nervous for the safety of their northwestern boundary. Russian pressure on China became severe also during these years. In 1860 Russia acquired the seacoast on the Japan Sea thereby obtaining Vladivostok as a seaport and a terminus for the trans-Siberian Railway. By the opening of the present century this great trunk-line was completed, and Russia began the absorption of Manchuria.

Among the other states of Europe, Portugal, Spain, and Holland were content with the remnants of their old empires. Austria never aspired to the possession of non-contiguous territory, but enlarged its possessions by additions in the Balkan Peninsula. Italy and Germany did not become unified until 1870. After the Franco-Prussian War the new German Empire began its amazing advancement under the astute guidance of Bismarck. Of necessity, these two recently unified national groups, Italy and Germany, came to possess an imperial consciousness after much of the non-European world, and especially its most valuable portions had already been appropriated. As they saw the growth of commerce and industry in the rival states, they felt that it was partially based on the possession of colonies. Therefore it was natural that Italy and Germany should follow in the footsteps of their neighbors and build empires across the seas.

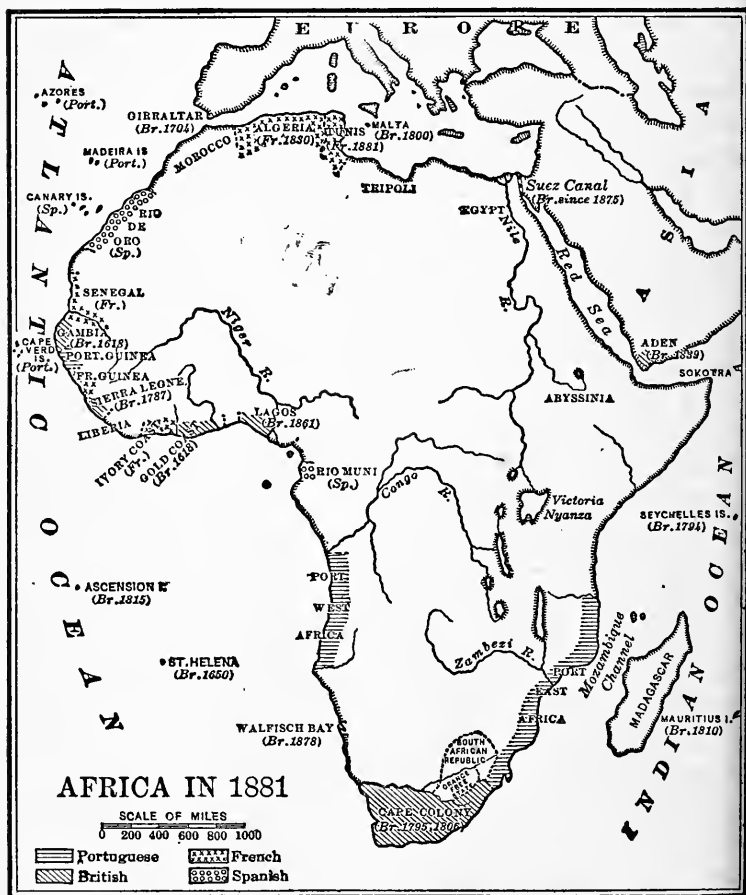
Curiously enough the immediate impulse that led to the surprising "boom" in imperialism came from the exploration of the interior of Africa, particularly by British explorers David Livingstone, before his death in 1873, had made known great stretches of the interior of the continent. Darkest Africa was found to be much more valuable than was

formerly thought to be the case. The interior, of which almost nothing had been known heretofore, proved to be a high tableland, well watered and the producer of much economic wealth, with even larger potential possibilities.

In 1876 Leopold II of Belgium, who had become interested in African exploration and colonization, held a conference at Brussels, where a society called the "International African Association" was formed. Henry M. Stanley, who had made a name for himself in his search for the lost Livingstone, was employed by Leopold to explore the Congo; in the five years following 1879 Stanley mapped out a great deal of the interior of the Congo region. The International African Association soon became frankly a commercial and not a philanthropic organization. Therefore, in consequence of the possible clashing of various national interests in this rich region, it became necessary to codify regulations for international relations.

This was the primary aim of a meeting held at Berlin in 1884-85. The conference at Berlin marks the beginning of a frantic scramble for territory that is characteristic of the new imperialism. The Congo matter was arranged by granting freedom of commerce in what came to be known as the "Congo Free State." More important were the rules adopted for the appropriation of other African territories by the Powers. It was stipulated that all the Powers should be notified when a protectorate was purposed. The test of ownership was to be actual occupation and the maintenance of law and order; a "sphere of influence" was not to be confused with a territorial acquisition. No provision, however, was accepted regarding freedom of trade. Although this had been Great Britain's traditional policy with regard to her colonies, the protectionist idea was growing, especially in the nations that seemed far behind in industrial and commercial competition. As a result of the inaction of the Berlin conference on this matter, an exclusive and selfish policy accompanied the acquirement of colonies; it led to endless embitterment in international affairs, and was a main cause back of the great World War that began in 1914.

Germany had no possessions outside of Europe before the rise of the new imperialism. Bismarck does not seem to have cared much for colonies, for his interests had been necessarily centered on continental politics. Before the Franco-Prus-



sian War he expressed himself as believing that colonial activity was a field for private enterprise only. Even after the defeat of France, when asked to take colonies as part of the indemnity, he refused on the ground that they were of use simply for providing offices. Indeed, a number of protectorates that were offered to Germany by various native chiefs in the seventies were refused.

About 1882 Bismarck began to change his mind. During this decade Germany was entering on a protectionist policy and, in addition, a large German emigration to foreign states led to uneasiness, for the new national consciousness regretted the permanent loss of emigrating Germans. Probably as important a cause as any was the rapid acquisition of territories by other states at this time. There should be added to these influences the cumulative effect of the wishes of ardent German advocates of colonies — especially of merchants who had sought for some time to interest the Government in their business undertakings. In 1881 a German Colonial Society was formed; it was followed in 1884 by a Society for German Colonization. These and other organizations revealed the restlessness of Germans in view of the rapid enlargement of existing colonial empires.

In 1882 a Bremen merchant, F. A. L. Lüderitz, bought territory in what later became German South-West Africa. Bismarck promised him the protection of the Government, and in 1884 the new territory was declared a protectorate. The British public did not accept with grace this initial step in the building of a German colonial Empire, and resentment was aroused in Germany in consequence. In order to forestall a German connection with the Boers of the Transvaal the British Empire acquired Bechuanaland at this time. In 1884 a Dr. Nachtigal, under the guise of investigating German commercial conditions in equatorial Africa, annexed Togoland and the Cameroons. British feeling was aroused more than ever by this act, especially when it became known that the British in 1876 had refused to accept a protectorate of the Cameroons when the native chiefs asked for it. From now on Bismarck was committed to an aggressive colonial policy. Shortly after the African territories were taken an expedition was sent to New Guinea (north of Australia). This caused further tension with Great Britain, as an inter-colonial congress in Sydney, in session at that time, wished New Guinea to become British territory.

After the conference at Berlin, relations with Britain be-

came better. An arrangement was effected with Great Britain by which Germany obtained large possessions in north-eastern New Guinea, and also received the Bismarck Archipelago. It was at that juncture in the development of the German Empire that Gladstone made his famous statement in Parliament: "If Germany is to become a colonizing Power, all I say is, 'God speed her.'" German East Africa was obtained in 1886, and by the end of this decade the Marshall Islands and a number of adjacent groups in the Pacific had been added to the growing Empire. When Spain was defeated by the United States at the close of the century, the remainder of the Spanish islands in the Pacific were sold to Germany. At this time Germany received part of Samoa as well, and leased on a long term from China the port of Kiaochau on the Shantung Peninsula. A new colonial empire had come into being, backed by an aggressive colonizing interest, a strong belief in protection, and a marvelously developing industry and commerce.

Italy had been slow in exerting influence outside of Europe for the same reason that German colonizing efforts had been retarded — a late unification. In the eighties, however, the new imperialism appealed as much to Italians as to Germans. The Dual Alliance between Germany and Austria of 1879 was made a Triple Alliance in 1882 by the entry of Italy. This strange combination of Austria and Italy is to be explained by the deep resentment caused in Rome as a result of the French absorption of Tunis; the Italians felt that this territory, lying nearest to Italian Sicily, should have been theirs. Shortly after the Berlin Conference, the coast of Eritrea (on the Red Sea) was occupied. In the early nineties Crispi planned a great Italian Empire in that part of Africa, which was to include Abyssinia. But this sturdy native government soundly defeated the Italian expedition, and Abyssinia was left a free country. Italy has since held the African coast to the southeast, known as "Italian Somaliland." In 1911 a war was waged against Turkey by which Italy acquired Tripoli — renamed Libya — and the Dodecanese off southwest Asia Minor. Italian efforts to become a great

Power in the colonial field as well as in other ways have been hampered by financial resources that do not at all correspond to Italian ambitions.

Even the United States was swung into the imperialistic maelstrom. Her professed policy of isolation, made at the outset of the country's history, had been adhered to without difficulty. The Monroe Doctrine tended to keep the United States out of European politics, while the internal development of the West more than absorbed excess energy and capital. By the close of the century, however, the frontier had been pushed to the Pacific. Yet when the opportunity occurred of obtaining the Hawaiian Islands in the early nineties, it was not accepted. But in 1898 came the turning-point—the war with Spain over Cuba. As a result Spain lost to the United States the Philippines, Porto Rico, and Guam, and Cuba came under the paternal protection of the great Republic. At the same time the United States annexed the Hawaiian Islands and two islands in the Samoan group, including the best harbor in the southern Pacific. American isolation had become a thing of the past.

A NEW INTEREST

When the partition of non-European countries began to move forward so rapidly about 1885, Great Britain was the one state with a widely spread dominion containing highly civilized states alongside of undeveloped possessions.

As soon as the colonizing tendencies in other nations found a rapid realization in the "boom" of the eighties, the British became apprehensive. They naturally feared the growth of dominions that would endanger the safety of what we have found was heretofore a British monopoly. There was some justification in this, as British traders were carrying on business and British missionaries were doing their work in many sections of the world as yet unappropriated. Before the rush for colonies began in 1884, the British Empire had had many opportunities to establish protectorates over native peoples in Africa and elsewhere. But these requests of native chiefs had often been refused. It is easy to understand why the

British Empire should feel a certain paternal relation, for example, in the Cameroons and Nigeria, even if a protectorate were not definitely established. Further apprehension arose from the probable cutting off of commercial relations with portions of Asia and Africa, should they be occupied by rival European states with a protective system.

Great Britain showed hesitation in entering into the scramble for new territory. In fact, during the past half-century the British had unwillingly added to their colonial burdens. Feeling in South Africa and Australia, however, was strongly in favor of a forward movement. Thus Great Britain joined the others in the partition of the unclaimed parts of Asia and Africa and the islands in the adjacent waters.

In Africa trouble occurred with Germany over South-West Africa, and although the British lost this territory, with the exception of Whale Bay, they added Zululand and Bechuanaland to their possessions in southern Africa. A further foothold was gained in Rhodesia (Mashonaland and Matabeleland). More trouble occurred with Germany in the Cameroon district. Although the British were forestalled by the German expedition of Dr. Nachtigal, Nigeria was taken over and proved to be an immensely rich region. British Somaliland was added in 1884. In 1886 Germany and Great Britain settled their spheres of influence in East Africa, and by the end of the decade Uganda (back of British East Africa) and the island of Zanzibar were brought under British suzerainty. France and Britain were on the brink of war in 1898 over the question of the Sudan, when a French expedition occupied Fashoda (Kodok) a few weeks before Lord Kitchener came to claim the territory for Great Britain. The tension was relieved by the Anglo-French Agreement of 1899, by which France gave up all claims to this region in return for a recognition of French control in Tunis. French interest in northwestern Africa was again indicated when they acquired Morocco early in the twentieth century.

During these years considerable territory was added to the Empire in the Far East, as well. In 1885 Upper Burma was

annexed. As a result of German and British rivalry in New Guinea, the eastern part of the island was divided between the two Powers. Large parts of the island of Borneo (North Borneo, Brunei, and Sarawak) became imperial possessions in this decade. Just at the close of the century Weihaiwei (on the tip of the Shantung Peninsula) was leased from China as "compensation" for the German lease of Kiaochow and the Russian lease of Port Arthur.

Certainly Great Britain was not behind the other nations in snatching up non-European lands during the years after the new imperialism began. The British Empire possessed the largest colonial dominion in 1881; this Empire grew more swiftly than any of its rivals during the rapid colonial expansion that followed. Over a million square miles of the earth's surface became definitely British in the last two decades of Victoria's reign. It was but natural that there should be a greatly increased interest in the enlarged dominions, including a special interest in their defense, their organization, and their unity. Misunderstandings and ill feeling were inevitable, especially with Germany and France. It has been stated that relations with France were better after 1899. The same cannot be said of Germany. Its extreme aggressiveness and confidence, its marked importance in the business world, its naval program, all made the British suspicious of this new rival.¹

The new British imperial enthusiasm was most notably expressed by a series of colonial conferences. In 1887 Victoria and the Empire celebrated the fiftieth year of her reign at a time when the colonial interest was strong. A great Thanksgiving service was held on June 21st in Westminster, and in July there was an elaborate naval review at Spithead. Most important of all was the meeting in April and May of a conference containing representatives from Britain's colonies as well as from the home Government. Numerous matters of

¹ The historian, Treitschke, who died in 1896, did not improve matters by his outspoken belief that a clash of interests between Great Britain and Germany was "inevitable." It was his advice that Germany adopt an "independent colonial policy" and come, if necessary, to a reckoning with Britain.

importance were discussed, colonial defense taking much of the attention of the conference.¹

Ten years later, in 1897, the sixtieth anniversary of Victoria's reign was celebrated in an even grander manner. The premiers of all the self-governing colonies and representatives from the Crown colonies discussed colonial problems. The self-governing colonies showed great interest in the unity of the Empire; the Canadian Prime Minister, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, expressed the loyalty of Canada in a way that was very impressive. The introduction in the next year of penny postage between the British Isles and most of the colonies helped to bring the Empire closer together. This Conference of 1897 may also be regarded as marking the beginning of a trend toward a protectionist policy for the Empire. A third Colonial Conference was held in 1902, and thereafter the meetings were periodical.²

The survey made in the foregoing pages of the reign of Queen Victoria should impress the student of British expansion with the almost totally new situation that had arisen by the opening of the twentieth century. During this reign British possessions had grown marvelously, amounting in grand total in 1900 to one quarter of the land surface of the globe. Self-government had been granted the most advanced portions of the Empire, and interest in the large British world had become keen. Already federation was a subject of discussion. Over against the British Empire stood, in 1900, rival powers with world-dominions and with an equal interest in the growth of commerce and trade for the benefit of their respective countries. Practically all the world had been brought under some sort of European influence. The British Empire faced, in consequence, a definite challenge. As we proceed to survey the fortunes of the various parts of the British dominions in recent years, this new and complicated

¹ Charles Dilke's *Problems of Greater Britain*, published three years later reflects this paramount interest. After a lengthy discussion of imperial defense he concludes: "It is difficult to view without anxiety the military situation of an Empire so little compact, and so difficult, in consequence, to defend" (p. 698).

² For a more extended treatment of the Colonial Conferences reference should be made to chapter xxiv.

world-situation must be kept in mind as an essential part of the picture.

This new feeling of anxiety for the "far-flung battle line" and the consequent need for united action was phrased in unforgettable fashion by Rudyard Kipling in his poem of "The Houses (A Song of the Dominions)" written in the year after the Diamond Jubilee:

"Twixt my house and thy house the pathway is broad,
In thy house or my house is half the world's hoard;
By my house and thy house hangs all the world's fate,
On thy house and my house lies half the world's hate

For thy house and my house no help shall we find
Save thy house and my house — kin cleaving to kind;
If my house be taken, thine tumbleth anon.
If thy house be forfeit, mine followeth soon.¹

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¹ Rudyard Kipling's *Verse*, New York, 1919, p. 204.

Earl Grey surveys the whole oversea Empire for the exceedingly important years of Lord John Russell's administration (1846-52). Sir John Seeley's *The Growth of British Policy*, published posthumously in 1895, was intended to be an introduction to an elaborate account of British expansion.

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CHAPTER XVIII

MODERN INDIA

IN the previous chapter the Victorian Age has been reviewed from the standpoint of colonial matters as a whole. We have discovered a remarkable increase in imperial feeling and in the desire for expansion during the later years of Victoria's reign. It was but the prelude to a feverish energy displayed in the early twentieth century. With this chapter we shall begin a survey of the great British dominions as they have taken on their modern character under the imperial impulses of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

It seems natural that India should be studied first. It was the most important of the possessions of the old colonial system. Its government was much less democratic than that of the other great imperial divisions, and progression to the more democratic parts of the Empire might well start with India. The possessions in southern Asia also serve to reveal most of the difficulties the British have faced in those colonial holdings where the Anglo-Saxon is not dominant racially. Because of India's size and its very great population, it also ushers before us questions that put this great dependency into a class by itself. A prominent student of modern British tendencies has declared: "The first and greatest of all the problems of Empire is the problem of India." ¹ Lord Morley, Secretary of State for India from 1905 to 1910, has said of this possession: "The five years that I passed as head of the India Office marked an arduous moment in what is, and must remain, the most delicate of imperial problems." ²

FOREIGN POLICY

The history of British rule in India has been traced as far as the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857. Largely as the result of dis-

¹ Slater, *The Making of Modern England*, p. 276.

² *Recollections*, II, 149.

content aroused by the vigorous imperialism and the want of tact of the energetic Dalhousie, the sepoy rose in revolt. Only after a fearful loss of life was the Mutiny suppressed. It gave the opportunity and pointed to the necessity for a closer control of the government of India. As a result, the East India Company ceased to exist and India was brought directly under the Crown.

By the Act for the Better Government of India, passed in 1858, India was to be controlled through a Secretary of State assisted by a Council. The Governor-General was given the title of Viceroy to indicate the new relation to the Crown, but the former title continued in common use. He was assisted by his Council or cabinet, and official pronouncements were issued in the name of the Governor-General-in-Council. In 1861 a further act provided for a Legislative Council. This body included certain non-official, nominated members from the native and European elements of the Empire of India in addition to the Governor-General and Executive Council. Just about the same time the law courts were reorganized and the civilian and penal codes were established.

The first Viceroy was Lord Canning. He had succeeded Dalhousie before the outbreak of the Mutiny. Although he wished for a peaceful administration, none was ever more stormy and taxing. By almost superhuman efforts he brought British rule safely through this critical period and reestablished something like confidence in the British administration. This was done in several ways. The clemency which he advocated was welcomed in India, if derided in Great Britain. His assurance that Dalhousie's Doctrine of Lapse was abolished increased confidence in the British Government. Lord Canning was earnestly interested, also, in promoting the welfare of the people. He made great effort to protect agriculture as well as to reorganize the codes of law, the police organization, and the army. One of the most noteworthy of the acts of Canning's regime was the establishment of the three universities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras on the plan of Oxford and Cambridge.

The second Viceroy was Lord Elgin, whose name has a

ready become known to us by his farseeing work in Canada where his interest in the progress of responsible government had set the standard for the Empire as a whole.¹ Lord Elgin, who came to India in 1862, left no imprint on the Indian administration, as he died within a year.

In 1864 Sir John Lawrence, famous for his work in the Punjab, became the third Viceroy. He had the advantage over most of his predecessors and successors of long service in India and an intimate knowledge of its complex life. In his first durbar at Lahore he was able to address the assembled princes and chiefs in their own tongue. During the remainder of the decade he administered his difficult office with credit. He was restrained in his foreign policy; in connection with the perennial frontier question of the northwest he was an advocate of "masterful inactivity." Sir John Lawrence had to combat a tendency toward an aggressive imperialism, which was already being expressed by such influential men as Sir Bartle Frere, then Governor of Bombay, and Sir Henry Rawlinson, the famous Assyriologist.

In 1869 Lord Mayo became the Governor-General. In his foreign policy there was an adherence to the principles on which Sir John Lawrence had acted — the establishment of a ring of friendly and independent kingdoms on the frontiers. As he expressed it: "We should establish with our frontier states of Khelat, Afghanistan, Yarkand, Nepal, and Burma, intimate relations of friendship. . . . We should thus create in them outworks of our Empire and, by assuring them that the days of annexation are passed, make them know that they have everything to gain and nothing to lose by endeavoring to deserve our favor and respect."² Lord Mayo was not so successful in his internal administration as in his peaceful foreign policy; there was a marked increase in the burdens laid upon the people. Yet his great personal energy and influence left a strong impression. Lord Mayo's rule was brought to an untimely end by his assassination in the Andaman Islands; while visiting this penal settlement in 1872 he was stabbed by a convict.

¹ See pp. 228-29. ² Quoted in Dutt, *India in the Victorian Age*, p. 254.

The policy of peace so consistently followed by Canning and his immediate successors was continued by Lord Northbrook, the Viceroy from 1872 to 1876. During this period an opportunity came for proving the sincerity of Canning's announcement that the annexation of native states had ceased. The Gaekwar of Baroda was accused of an attempt on the life of the British Resident; he was also quite unfit to rule. After a fair trial he was dethroned, but the state of Baroda did not become British territory, as might have happened before 1858. Instead, a young boy of the ruling house was put on the throne — a ruler who has proved to be one of the most enlightened and devoted of the native princes. A further proof that Britain's attitude in this case was a settled policy was given in 1881 during the viceroyship of Lord Ripon. The great state of Mysore in the south had been administered by the British since 1831. It was here that Haidar Ali and his son Tipu caused the British so much trouble at the close of the eighteenth century. The ancient dynasty had been replaced in power in 1799, but misrule led to a British administration from 1831 to 1881. The return of this large state to the Maharaja in 1881 did much to create confidence in the sincerity of British pledges.

With the opening of the last quarter of the nineteenth century the "urge" of imperialism became very strong. In the preceding chapter we have taken note of the causes for this change. The unification of Germany in 1871, Russia's disregard of the Black Sea Treaty, and the new crisis in the relations of Russia and Turkey, all created distrust in the minds of British statesmen. The route to India was safeguarded by the purchase of the Suez Canal shares in 1875, but it seemed to be endangered by the probable break-up of the Ottoman Empire in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877. The advance of Russia in Asia was keenly watched during these years by Great Britain. Sir Henry Rawlinson, who had spent much of his life in Asia, published his *England and Russia in the East* in 1875. The book, as a revelation and a warning, had a wide reading. The immediate question for India seemed to be the safety of its northwestern frontier. Afghanistan

became of prime interest at this time and the policy of "masterful inactivity" ceased when the second Disraeli administration came to office in 1874; a restless imperialism replaced the former policy.¹ India, already overburdened, found additional drains on her slender resources in order that the British hold on the peninsula might remain secure.

Lord Northbrook resigned in 1876 when asked to interfere in Afghanistan with the intention of establishing a permanent mission there. He was replaced by Lord Lytton. Disraeli gave his reason for the change when he informed Lord Lytton why he was chosen as Viceroy: "The critical state of affairs in Central Asia demands a statesman."²

Disraeli's imperialism found a significant, if somewhat melodramatic, expression in the proclamation of Queen Victoria as Empress of India in 1876. The advance in the Far East, however, serves as a better illustration of the temper of the new cabinet in London. An envoy was sent to Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan, in 1876. On his rebuff by the Amir, who feared a permanent mission was to be established, expensive preparations were made for advance along the frontier. This was done in the face of one of the worst famines India has had to bear, that of 1877. In the next year a Russian mission reached Kabul. This was enough to urge Lord Lytton to the action demanded of a "statesman." A war was waged for the "rectification of the boundary and a scientific frontier." After a successful invasion a mission was located at Kabul, but in 1879 the British agent was murdered. After more hostilities the lesson, that the best policy was to leave Afghanistan alone, was relearned. The British were more successful in Baluchistan, where an increasing control was being exercised during this decade.

The short Liberal reaction under Lord Ripon (1880-84) was succeeded by a continuance of the expansionist policy under Lord Dufferin. During his governor-generalship Upper Burma was conquered at the expense of India. There was no particular danger on the northeastern frontier, even though France was becoming interested in Tonkin and Co-

¹ See pp. 287 ff.

² Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 420.

chin China. The explanation of advance on this border is found in the feverish spirit that characterized all the great European nations during the eighties, although there was some cause for discontent in the hindrances to trade in Burma as a result of the rule of the tyrannical King Theebaw and his Queen.

About the same time Afghanistan again became important. War was nearly precipitated between Great Britain and Russia when the Russians attacked an Afghan frontier post at Penjdeh. This scare resulted in increased military measures for the protection of India. An expensive railway was built to allow greater access to the frontier. The offer of military assistance by some of the native rulers during the period of the Penjdeh scare resulted in the establishment of the Imperial Service troops, contingents of which have been in existence in the native states ever since. A boundary commission was appointed to decide on the line separating the Russian territories from those of Afghanistan. By the Durand Agreement of 1893 a definite boundary was fixed between India and Afghanistan as well. It brought wild native tribes under British control and border wars occurred in consequence in 1895 and 1897.

Lord Curzon's viceroyship (1898-1905) was notable for further active interest in the northwestern frontier. Garrisons were withdrawn from stations where trouble was likely to occur, and the Northwest Province was established as a buffer. In 1901 the Amir of Afghanistan, who had ruled efficiently for twenty years, died; he was succeeded by Habibullah Khan, who governed the country until his assassination at the close of the Great World War. Since the dispatch of Sir Lewis Dane's mission to Kabul in 1904, as a result of Russian advances, there has been little trouble with Afghanistan.

In 1907 a convention was signed between Great Britain and Russia, by which the position of Afghanistan was definitely determined. Russia agreed that this state was in Great Britain's sphere of influence and that communication between the Governments of Russia and Afghanistan should

be made through Great Britain. England agreed not to annex or occupy any part of Afghanistan and to allow Russia full rights of trade in this border country. This policy has happily prevented a recurrence of the military disasters which Great Britain's relations with Afghanistan have twice illustrated. The collapse of the Romanoff rule during the World War and the repudiation of the Agreement of 1907 by the succeeding Government has freed this border state from the pressure of imperialistic Russia. If Russia does not reëstablish her control in the territories north of Afghanistan, this frontier state will cease to have a significance as one of the "shields of India," and the policy of non-interference adopted in 1907 will prove the most effective way of keeping the peace. The relations between India and Afghanistan were the subject of further negotiation in 1921; this time it was not an agreement between two nations interested in this border state. Instead, the Dobbs Mission negotiated for Great Britain a treaty with Afghanistan, in which a notable step was taken, for Afghanistan was recognized as a fully grown independent state with a Minister in London. If the provisions for the removal of suspicion and difficulty regarding the Afghan frontier prove effective, it will mean much for the future of India.

During Lord Curzon's governorship of India the British became interested in Tibet for much the same reason that had led to interference in Afghanistan. This high and almost inaccessible plateau under the nominal influence of China was coveted by Russia early in the twentieth century, and Great Britain became worried over the northeastern Indian frontier. An expedition was sent to Lhasa under Colonel Younghusband in 1904. After needless slaughter of the Tibetans, China agreed to prevent the intervention of any other power in Tibet. The Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 restated the position of Tibet as a Chinese territory, although Great Britain was recognized as having a special interest in this Chinese possession. When the revolution occurred in China, affairs in Tibet were again upset. It has since been practically self-governing, though Great Britain preserves a keen

interest in this border state by means of which India is approached from the northeast.

THE EMPIRE OF INDIA

We have seen that foreign policy has been very important as a result of the fear of Russia. The Viceroys have been primarily interested in this phase of the administration; of the various departments of the Government the cabinet members have taken charge of Home Affairs, the Legislative, the Army, Revenue and Agriculture, Commerce and Industry, and Education, but the portfolio of Foreign Affairs has usually been retained by the Governor-General. In the survey of modern India it is natural to pass from frontier problems to a study of the interior of the great Empire in which Britain has been so deeply interested. On the northern borders are the two semi-independent states of Nepal and Bhutan. They are not considered a part of India, but are bound in a close way to the Indian Government. Nepal has a British Resident, and Bhutan has felt British pressure in connection with the misrule of its Maharaja. Of the near-by islands, Ceylon is a separate colony, but the Nicobar and Andaman Islands in the Bay of Bengal and the Laccadive Islands in the Indian Ocean are under the Indian administration. The Government of India has also included under its jurisdiction the port of Aden and its dependencies on the route to the Suez Canal.¹ British interests in the Persian Gulf have also been managed by the Indian Government.

In turning to continental India we find a vast, complicated, and thickly peopled part of the British Empire. It has a population of over three hundred and twenty million, comprising nearly one half of the population of Asia and one sixth of that of the globe. The inhabitants are not homogeneous; over two hundred vernacular languages of great variety are spoken in the peninsula; and numerous racial and religious differences exist. There are over two hundred million Hindus, about sixty million Mohammedans, and ten million Buddhists and, in addition, large numbers of Sikhs,

¹ For their present status see chapter xx.

Parsis, Jains, Christians, and Jews, as well as followers of the primitive animistic cults. So complicated is the human life of the peninsula that it is impossible to think of this teeming center of population as having a linguistic or racial bond capable of making it a unit.

Politically, the peninsula is composed of two great groups. The parts directly under British control consist of fifteen provincial governments scattered in various parts of India. The eight important provinces are ruled by Governors. These eight districts have Legislative Councils similar to that of the Governor-General. Burma is under a Lieutenant-Governor and the remaining British districts are controlled by Chief Commissioners. More than one half of the territory and four fifths of the population are contained in these parts which are directly under British rule.

The remainder of peninsular India is made up of native states. Ever since the British came to trade in the seventeenth century, there has existed the problem of the relation of the Company and later of the Crown to the native governments. At times an active annexationist policy has brought many of these states under British rule. But the process was not completed when Great Britain felt the need of respecting the interests of the native states. To-day there are over six hundred of these native governments. Many, of course, are very small. The most important are Kashmir in the north, Bikaner, Jaipur, Baroda, Indore, Udaipur, and Gwalior in the west-central section, and Haidarabad, Mysore, and Travancore in the south. The greatest of these states, Haidarabad, is larger than England and Scotland combined and has a population of over thirteen millions.

The relation of the native states to British India is not unlike the relation of a subject-state in the feudal system of mediæval Europe. They are not independent so far as foreign policy is concerned, for British Residents watch over the interests of the central Government, and in some of the smaller states the Resident practically governs in the name of the hereditary prince. A lawless ruler may be deposed, as we have found to be the case in the state of Baroda. A lim-

ited military establishment may be kept by a native ruler; since the days of Lord Dufferin these contingents have been known as Imperial Service Troops. In the larger and better governed states the native ruler enjoys a great measure of unrestricted control. Some of them, such as the Gaekwar of Baroda, the Nizam of Haidarabad, the Maharaja of Gwalior, and the Maharaja of Bikaner, are notable and efficient rulers.¹

The native states tend to be more backward than the provinces of British India. Nor is there, on the whole, so intelligent an expenditure of the public monies as in the provinces. The need of keeping up the local court naturally diverts funds that might otherwise go to the improving of the condition of the natives. In these states, "scattered like so many islands of varying size in the sea of British India," there is a diversity, and yet amid this diversity there seems to be a strong attachment to the British Crown. The compromising yet practical quality of the British imperial mind, which has been wittily characterized as an "uncontrollable instinct for the anomalous," is nowhere better illustrated than in the complexities existing in India.

NATIONALISM AND REFORM

The twentieth century has brought to the British increasing trouble in India. Since 1905 there has been an insistent demand for reform. The immediate occasion was the partition of Bengal in 1905 during the rule of Lord Curzon. The educated Hindus felt that the partition was an effort to weaken whatever national, religious, and political feeling existed in Bengal. Since that time the Viceroys, Earl Minto, Lord Hardinge, Lord Chelmsford, and Lord Reading, have had the problem of "unrest" continually before them.

The movement originated as far back as 1885, with the meeting of the first Indian National Congress at Bombay. Year after year at Christmas-time this great meeting has given expression to the aspirations of Indians. The movement received greater impetus in the twentieth century, when

¹ His Highness, the Maharaja of Bikaner, was one of the representatives of India at the Peace Conference that met at Versailles in 1919.

the peoples of other Asiatic countries began to come to national self-consciousness. The Young Turk movement, the Persian efforts for independent government, the remarkable success of the Japanese in world-politics, the Chinese nationalist movement, the strong patriotic sentiment among the Siamese, all gave the educated Indians encouragement. As Lord Morley has well stated it: "The danger arose from a mutiny, not of sepoys about greased cartridges, but of educated men armed with modern ideas." The educated Indians were thoroughly dissatisfied with the British use of India and the restraint put on the native desire for political opportunities. Notable among the Extremist leaders were B. G. Tilak and Lajpat Rai.

During the first years of the Earl of Minto's viceroyship (1905-10) the "unrest" did not take violent form. The Hindus had found an opportunity for expressing their wishes in the National Congress year after year. The Mohammedans, over sixty million strong, organized the All Moslem League in 1906 to press their particular interests. More violent measures soon followed. By 1907 an extreme nihilist group, wanting nothing short of freedom from British rule, had begun to find expression. In that year the first shot was fired, and in 1908 bombs began to be used. In 1909 a bomb was thrown at Lord and Lady Minto, and three years later an attempt was made on the life of the next Viceroy, Lord Hardinge. There was also in operation during this time the *Swadeshi* movement for the boycott of British goods. As an answer to these forms of violence the Government invoked more severe laws, such as the Explosives Act, the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act, and the Criminal Law Amendment Act.¹

Had the "unrest" been primarily a violent, nihilistic, separatist movement, Great Britain might have taken still stronger measures to protect her rule in India, and might have ignored the demands of the natives. But the great majority of the leaders have not been Extremists. Men of prominence, such as the late G. K. Gokhale, the Aga Khan,

¹ For domestic disturbances in India since 1914 see Chapter xxv.

and Romesh Dutt, have been severe critics of the British régime. Yet they have been fully aware of the debt of India to Britain and the need for continued British leadership.

Great Britain has been inclined to make concessions to these demands, even though such concessions have come haltingly. In 1907 Lord Morley, then Secretary of State, appointed two Indians to his Council, and a Hindu barrister became a member of the Governor-General's Council for the first time in 1909. The governmental attitude was well expressed in a proclamation made by King Edward to the "Peoples and Princes of India" on the fiftieth anniversary of the change of government from the hands of the East India Company to those of the Crown. He reminded them of Queen Victoria's earnest interest in India, and then proceeded to tell of what the future would hold in store. "From the first, the principle of representative institutions began to be gradually introduced, and the time has come when, in the judgment of my Viceroy and Governor-General and others of my counsellors, that principle may be prudently extended. Important classes among you, representing ideas that have been fostered and encouraged by British rule, claim equality of citizenship and a greater share in legislation and government. . . . I will not speak of the measures that are now being diligently framed for these objects. They will speedily be made known to you and will, I am confident, mark a notable stage in the beneficent progress of your affairs."¹

The measure to which the King referred was the Indian Councils Act of 1909. By this act an electorate of some thirty thousand was provided, by which additional members were chosen for the Legislative Councils. A majority of non-official members was allowed in the provincial councils, but the Government was unwilling to lose official control of the Governor-General's Council. This central Council was made to consist of sixty-eight members, twenty-five of whom were elected. The choice was so arranged that there was certain to be an official majority of three. These legislative bodies though representing but a small fraction of the people o

¹ The Proclamation is given in Lord Morley's *Recollections*, II, 371.

India, gave a chance for wider discussion and for criticism of the Government.

Lord Chelmsford became Viceroy in 1916 after the opening of the World War. The situation in India was precarious. Germany evidently expected the Extremists to cause considerable trouble, but, except for some trouble in Bengal and the Punjab, her expectations were not fulfilled. India proved, on the whole, as loyal to Britain as other parts of the Empire. The desire to retain the good-will of India and to meet the continuous demand for a further grant leading toward responsible government led Great Britain to take further steps for reform. An elaborate investigation and report was made, culminating in the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, which went into effect with the passing of the Government of India Act in December, 1919.

Considerable concessions were made. The nine provinces having Legislative Councils were the ones affected by this Act. The electorate was increased from thirty thousand to over five million — about two and one third per cent of the total population of these nine provinces. In the provincial legislative councils it was provided that there was to be independence in certain "transferred subjects" — local self-government, public health, education, etc. But the Governor still retained the control of legislation. Some changes were made in the Governor-General's Council; the number of members was increased to one hundred and twenty, but the Council was given no real power in the essential matter of finance. No proposal for appropriations could be made except on the recommendation of the Governor-General. Moreover, the Legislative Council was not granted permission to vote on or discuss certain parts of the budget save by the Viceroy's permission, and if the Council refuses to consent to a grant the Governor-General may, if he regards it as essential, act as if it had been assented to.

The reforms of 1919 are but a step in the process of making India a self-governing colony. The new Act provided for a reconsideration of Indian Government in ten years, with a view to further reform at that time. In spite of this provi-

sion, the concessions made in this measure have not met the demands of loyal Indians. His Highness, the Aga Khan, one of the foremost of the Mohammedan leaders of India, wrote in 1918: "The Government of India needs radical change; the time has come when it should no more be a mere government of fiat, however excellent that fiat, but an essentially modern state based on the coöperation of every community and of the Government, by giving to the people themselves the right to direct policy."¹ The time will come, but it is probably not near at hand, when India will be a self-governing group of peoples. Much progress needs to be made before the government of India can be placed in the hands of its three hundred million subjects; certainly that is the goal toward which events in India are traveling.²

THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE

It is impossible to consider in an adequate way the complicated life of modern India in a brief chapter such as the present one. Yet our attempt to visualize this great British possession would be incomplete if reference were not made to matters of finance, industry, agriculture, education, and social relationships.

The attitude of Great Britain to India has seemed to its critics needlessly financial in its character. Ardent natives have felt for years that India has been exploited. In truth, it would not be surprising if Great Britain should seem to err in this way. For centuries India was in the hands of a great trading company. It was supposed to be fabulously rich, and was of interest solely as a source of wealth. Even after the East India Company ceased to rule, the British Government seemed to feel that India had almost unlimited powers of production. Costly wars were waged at India's

¹ *India in Transition*, p. 32.

² The new epoch of coöperation in India was inaugurated in 1920 with the appointment of Lord Sinha as Governor of Bihar and Orissa. For the first time, an Indian was appointed as head of a major provincial government. Lord Sinha had formerly been Under-Secretary of State for India in the Imperial Cabinet, being the first Indian to hold cabinet rank.

expense, wars that were often dictated by an imperialistic foreign policy rather than by the needs of the Indian Empire.

The Indian debt stood at £57,000,000 in 1857 and was increased to nearly £100,000,000 by the Mutiny. By the military changes that followed £10,000,000 were added to the annual expenditure. An income tax was imposed at the time, in addition to the land tax, to meet the new demands. During the years of growing imperialism Indian expenditure was increased in connection with the troubles in Afghanistan and Burma. At the opening of the World War there was a debt of over £300,000,000, and a total annual revenue of nearly one third of that amount. The debt has been very greatly enlarged by a contribution of £100,000,000 to the cost of the World War; this was not a patriotic gift, but was made by the Government of India, which is responsible to the British Parliament and not to the Indian people.¹ In recent years nearly half of the annual revenue has been expended on the army, and one fourth has gone for the upkeep of the Indian Civil Service. The natives have sharply criticized this seemingly excessive drain.

There has always been an intimate connection between the agricultural system and the collection of the revenue. From the remote centuries Indian conquerors found a tax on land the most convenient way of collecting toll. It is the universal system in the East; the great majority of India's inhabitants, as well as the neighboring peoples, are dependent on the land. Agriculture is not simply the chief industry of India; it is much more than that, for over two thirds of the population is supported by agriculture. The British have perpetuated the system they found. More than one fourth of the annual revenue comes from a tax on land. The possibilities of the soil are carefully estimated and an assessment is made accordingly. The land settlement, as it is called, varies in different parts of the Empire. The older British holdings, chiefly in the valley of the Ganges, have a tenure by which large proprietors collect on the basis of a

¹ In 1920 the debt of British India was nearly £465,000,000.

permanent settlement. The newer districts are, in general, under a tenure by which the petty owner of land holds a direct relation to the Government.

It is unfortunate that this principal source of British revenue, agriculture, should still present so depressing a picture to one who examines the condition of the people of India. The life of the average worker in the fields is dreary indeed. Poorly clad, underfed, and inadequately housed, the *ryot* has had no real opportunity to avoid a life of grinding and unending toil.

No country has been more subject to the ravages of famines and pestilence than the Indian Empire. The soil is rich and gives abundance in return for the labor bestowed upon it. In consequence, the population that is supported is great and dense. So dependent are multitudes of people on the results of agriculture that a crop failure immediately brings serious trouble. Unfortunately, this is just what is likely to happen. The intense heat of the sun is tempered by the heavy annual rainfalls brought by the monsoons. If the monsoon fails to furnish the needed moisture, as it sometimes does, the result is a sun-baked and fruitless land. The sun's intense rays are responsible also for the plague which is so likely to infest the country. Where standing water is found the sun rapidly produces sources of disease that take a heavy toll indeed. Terrible famines have occurred in 1866, 1874, 1877, 1896, and 1900. The British have made great efforts to prevent distress and the toll resulting from starvation and disease. Several commissions have examined the method of relief, and the campaign against famine is well organized. Canals and railways have helped to make the efforts of famine-fighters more successful.

The industrial life of India has been of increasing importance, particularly since the opening of the present century. Silk rearing and weaving are important, but the manufacture of cotton cloth holds the most prominent place. This phase of India's industrial life has developed notably in and about the city of Bombay. The Industrial Revolution has been attended here with the same distressing conditions that

occurred in Lancashire over one hundred years before. The growth of the cotton industry has not been unhindered, however, for the well-established mills of Lancashire in England have done their best through the British Parliament to obtain favorable discrimination in their trade with India. In the agricultural industry, which occupies the efforts of two thirds of the population, the production of rice, wheat, cotton, jute, and oil seeds is important. A noteworthy part of India's industrial life is the tea industry, of which several hundred million pounds are exported every year. The large production of this and other foodstuffs gives India a high rank as a food-producing and food-exporting country. In the year before the World War, India sent to various parts of the world, though principally to the United Kingdom, foodstuffs to the value of £39,000,000.

One of the most important sources of revenue in the past was the export of opium to China. It is a government monopoly and the manufacture of opium has been practically prohibited, save in the districts of Bengal and the United Provinces. The revenue from this drug has been high in the past, but the trade in recent years has diminished as a result of adverse public opinion. It was the Opium War of 1840-42 that led to the cession of Hong Kong to the British and the opening of the trade in opium on China. The annual income in opium was about three million pounds in 1921. Another curious source of revenue is salt. The student is reminded of the Old Régime in France, where similar conditions existed before the days of the Revolution. Until recently the tax varied in different parts of India, as was the case in France before 1789. There is now one standard rate for the Empire. Although this source of revenue has been very important, it now contributes but a small share to the annual income.

One of the most pressing problems facing the Indian administration is the matter of education. According to the census of 1911 five people out of every hundred were able to read and write in some one of the numerous languages of the peninsula, and five out of every thousand possessed a knowledge of English. The obstacles to a general application of

education to the mass of the people are very great. Caste, the varied languages, immemorial superstition, the position of women, all have retarded the spread of education. Yet in spite of these difficulties, the British Government has been severely criticized for its lack of energy in fighting the ignorance of the masses. Higher education has been well developed by means of a carefully worked-out system culminating in the great examining universities. Industrial education, on the other hand, has been sacrificed, so say England's critics, to the classical standards so long held at home. The annual expenditure of the Government on education at the opening of the World War was one third that given to the Civil Service and a quarter of the amount expended on the army. Strange as it may seem, the portfolio of education was not added to the Governor-General's Council until 1910.

Probably no more important field of effort should command the attention of future administrators. The appalling death-rate, the superstition, the insanitary conditions of life, the prevalence of disease, the backwardness of agriculture and the consequent poverty will be met and overcome only when the program for reform includes a strong emphasis on education for the present illiterate masses.

It is undoubtedly true that British trusteeship faces its greatest problem in India. The benefits of British rule have been great indeed. Peace and order have replaced the almost ceaseless warfare of the days when the weak Mogul dynasty held subject states under poor control. Lawlessness, organized murder, and gross mistreatment of women have given way before an impartial justice. The efficient Indian Civil Service has served as an avenue for the expression of the energy of chosen Britishers in the prime of their usefulness in a country sorely needing leadership. Justice and the civil service have been entrusted more and more to the hands of native officials. Railways, canals, agriculture, and industry have grown under British leadership. A great composite Empire has been put into an ordered form in a way that reflects credit on British resourcefulness, ability, and interest. Yet much remains to be done. Guidance in the journey to

ward self-government, the ushering of a disunited India to a unified interest, and the elevation of the standards of health are tasks for the future. For this work British leadership seems necessary, in order that India may be developed and governed for the good of the people of India by the frank, if gradual, substitution of partnership and coöperation for the old idea of ascendancy.

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CHAPTER XIX

THE HIGHWAY TO THE EAST

INDIA is the most important in size and wealth of all the parts of the British Empire in the Far East. As a result, it has often captured the imagination, to the exclusion of other British possessions. Yet no student of the map of southern Asia and the Indian Ocean can be ignorant of the many scattered islands and coastal regions over which the British flag now flies. On maps where it is customary to mark by red the parts of the British Empire, the Asiatic coasts and the neighboring waters seem reddened by a perplexing and apparently indiscriminate amount of blotches. As we attempt to survey in brief fashion these parts of the British dominion, we shall find that the interest in India and the Far East is the explanation of the ubiquity of the Union Jack in eastern waters.

The Europeans of the Middle Ages did much trading with the East, by overland routes to the Orient as well as by coasting vessels that skirted the shores of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. In this mediæval trade various places along the way grew important. Probably Calicut on the west coast of India was the most noteworthy port for accumulating the goods of the farther East and of India for the journey to the West. To this emporium were brought the spices of the East Indies and the products of China and Japan as well as the wealth that India herself produced. The most important point in the voyage to Calicut from the eastern coast of Asia was Malacca at the southern end of the Malay Peninsula.

With the Commercial Revolution at the dawn of Modern History the trade with the East assumed a new importance. Vasco da Gama's journey around Africa to Calicut in 1497-98 furnished another route to the Far East. At the same time other epoch-making ventures were being made on the

¹ See chapter II.

great ocean. This impulse to bolder navigation marks the approximate time of, if it does not account wholly for, the decline of the great trading cities of the Mediterranean. Spain, Holland, France, and England took an interest in the discovery of new lands and the search for commercial wealth. But Portugal, by Da Gama's voyage, had acquired a prior claim to the route around Africa. Of this she took great advantage and Portuguese outposts were soon established at Goa, Calicut, Malacca, in the Spice Islands, at Macao on the Chinese coast, in Formosa, and elsewhere. The route to these eastern factories was well provided with a chain of stations, of which the most notable were the Cape Verde Islands, St. Helena, St. Paul de Loanda, Delagoa Bay, and Mozambique.

In spite of this auspicious start, the Portuguese were not permitted to enjoy the lucrative trade of the East unhindered. Holland and Spain organized East India Companies and began regular commercial relations with the Far East. The Dutch, who were very active in the seventeenth century, made their most important stopping-place on the route at Cape Town. They also took St. Helena from the Portuguese, and in the course of the century wrested from the hands of Portugal most of the vast East Indies, including the island of Ceylon, the tip of the Malay Peninsula, and the Spice Islands.

With the opening of the seventeenth century the British and French also became actively interested in the trading possibilities of southern Asia. As the British were unable to break into the Dutch monopoly of the East Indies, they turned to India, where, by gradual conquests of the native states and successful wars against the French, an empire was created. It grew more and more valuable with the years. Although the French remained, they were confined to a few significant towns. With the decline of the Dutch colonizing and commercial activity as well, the British forged ahead as the supreme nation on the sea. As India developed and the British became more and more the masters of the maritime world, the Indian trade increased in value. While the

other parts of the British Empire were being lost or were in an undeveloped state, India was sending a continuous stream of wealth to her conquerors.

It was but natural, therefore, that India should powerfully affect British foreign policy. Indeed, it is not going too far to say that the last one hundred and fifty years of British foreign policy on the eastern seas and in eastern Europe have been predominantly influenced by this great peninsula of Asia. In its behalf the various routes had to be safeguarded. Portugal and Holland and France lost valuable possessions because they seemed essential to the security of India. The Ottoman Empire was kept intact largely through British influence, because it seemed to safeguard a route to India. Russia's expansion into Central Asia and Turkestan was viewed with suspicion out of solicitude for India. The Indian Empire is the explanation of the numerous British possessions on the eastern highways of the sea and the key to the comprehension of the British policy regarding both the Near and the Far East.

In the previous chapter we have discussed the policy of Great Britain with regard to the land approaches to India. Extensions were made all along the territorial borders to afford a "scientific frontier" for the protection of British India. Burma on the east with its forested hills serves as a guard, and Tibet to the northeast and Afghanistan to the northwest have been of much interest to British statesmen as buffers for India. The deserts and the barren highlands of Baluchistan were acquired to safeguard the western approach.

THE ROUTE AROUND AFRICA

But it is with the "wet ways of the sea" that we are chiefly concerned in this chapter. As the British traders continued to go around Africa, the route gradually became marked by the possessions of England.

One of the most interesting of Britain's holdings on this highway is St. Helena. Discovered by the Portuguese, its value was early realized for the eastern traders. In the day

of small ships and slow sailing before capricious winds, numerous stopping-places for food and water were necessary. St. Helena was ideally located for the purpose. Purchas, the continuator of Hakluyt's record of British voyages, has written truly of the value of St. Helena: "It seems God has planted it in convenient place for the long and dangerous Indian navigations." This important link in the chain of empire was especially useful to vessels on the return journey, as they were driven northward by the prevailing winds.

Lancaster, in his voyage to the east in 1591, had stopped at St. Helena. For a time in the early seventeenth century it was used by the Dutch, but since about 1650 it has been in British hands. In 1673 the East India Company received the island by charter as "very necessary and commodious for . . . merchants trading into the East Indies for refreshing their servants and people in their returns homewards."¹ This port of call on the way to India acquired a fame unconnected with its real use to the East India Company, when it served as the prison for Napoleon from his defeat at Waterloo until his death in 1821. During this period the island was lent to Great Britain by the Company for this special use and returned to the Company after Napoleon's death. In 1834 it became a Crown Colony. With the improvement of sea navigation and the opening of other routes to the East, this lonely isle of the mid-Atlantic has greatly declined in importance.

South Africa was the next valuable port of call for the British trader. It was settled by the Dutch as their victualing-station, but was lost to the British in the Napoleonic wars; the fear that the French would obtain this valuable post on the road to India had led to its capture in 1795.

Mauritius had somewhat the same importance in the Indian Ocean that St. Helena possessed in the Atlantic. It is about as far from the Cape of Good Hope as it is from the east of India. The Portuguese were uninterested in Mauritius, nor did the Dutch use it to a great extent, although they gave it the name of Mauritius after the Stadtholder of




¹ Quoted in C. P. Lucas, *West Africa*, p. 392.

Holland, Count Maurice of Nassau. The French, however found it of value. Early in the eighteenth century it was taken over as a port of call and renamed the Île de France. In the wars waged between the French and the British during the eighteenth century the island became of great strategic value, as it lay on the direct route to the East. The famous admiral Labourdonnais gave much of his life to Mauritius, for it proved an admirable center for disturbing British trade and a useful base for attacking India. If the French East India Company had been more efficient and Dupleix more willing to coöperate with Labourdonnais, there might have been a different outcome to the Franco-British conflict in the East. Mauritius finally became a British possession during the Napoleonic wars; in 1810 it was attacked and captured by forces sent from India.

When the Suez Canal was opened shortly after the middle of the nineteenth century, Mauritius suffered the loss of much of its transit trade. Its chief source of wealth at present is sugar. This very densely populated island has still a very strong French character, although Indians are now greatly in the majority. At the close of the World War in 1918 the islanders were influenced by the tendency to settle national control according to "self-determination" with the result that there was a movement on the part of the French inhabitants for a retrocession of the island to France.

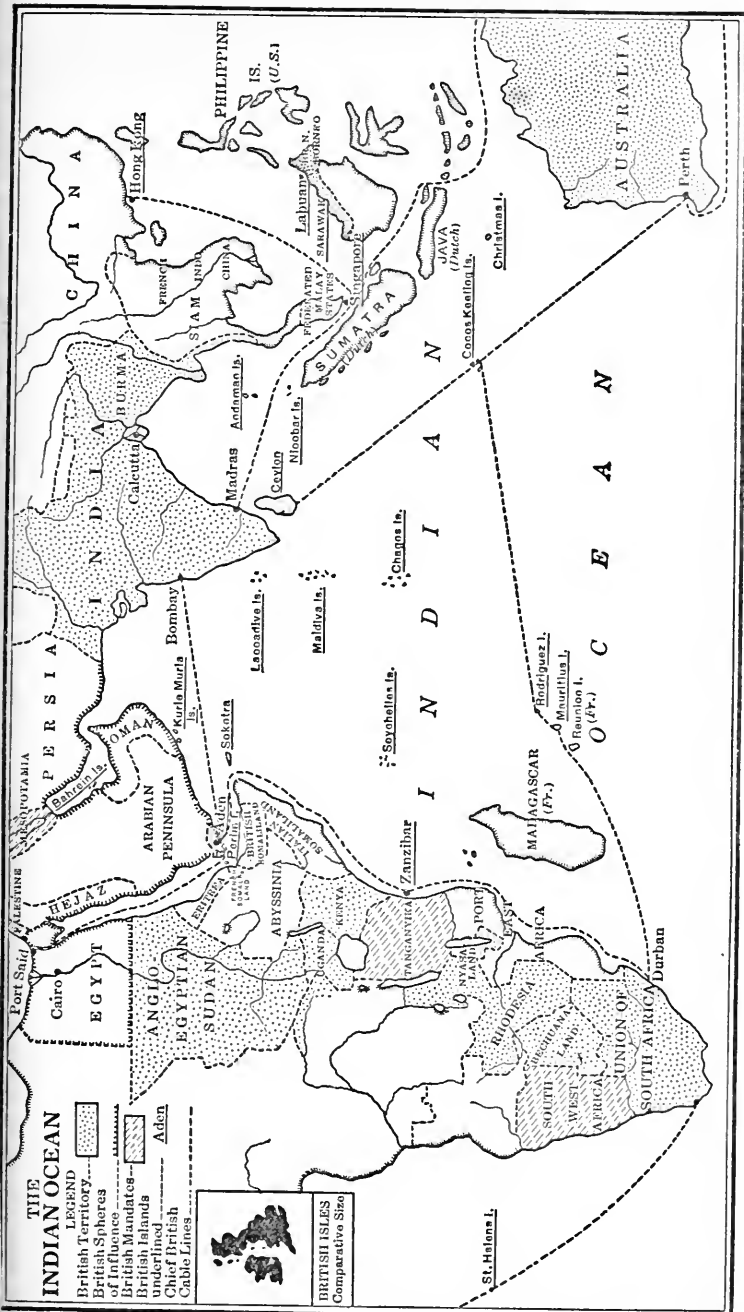
About one thousand miles north of Mauritius is the group of islands known as the Seychelles Archipelago. With it, under one colonial government, is grouped a number of other clusters north of Madagascar. The Seychelles have had much the same history as Mauritius. They were occupied by the French at the opening of the Seven Years' War, when the group was named after the Controller of Finance of that time, Vicomte Séchelles, and the largest of the islands was called Mahé, from Mahé Labourdonnais, the great Governor of Mauritius. In the Napoleonic wars Mahé was valuable as a place of refuge and as a supply-base for French vessels. On that account the archipelago was captured by the British, with whom it has remained ever since. It is somewhat of

THE INDIAN OCEAN

LEGEND
 British Territory
 British Spheres of Influence
 British Mandates
British Islands
Aden
 Chief British Cable Lines



BRITISH ISLES
Comparative Size



of the routes of trade, though on the line of ships going from Bombay to Zanzibar.

As we approach the Indian coast the next island-groups of any importance are the Maldives and the Laccadives. The Laccadive Islands are administered from India, while the Maldivian group is connected with Ceylon.

Much more valuable than any of the possessions already considered is the island of Ceylon, hung like a pendent jewel from the tip of India. Its area is somewhat less than that of Ireland; it has a population of four million. Although racially and geographically related to India, it has had a separate history, and is in no sense a part of the Indian Empire. With the rise of Portuguese power Ceylon was brought under the rule of this European nation. It was not long before the Dutch took Ceylon from the Portuguese, and when the Napoleonic wars brought Holland into French possession the British from Madras took the island from their rivals. Since 1796 it has belonged to Great Britain.

Ceylon was well known in the Middle Ages, for Marco Polo had visited it in his travels. The Portuguese and Dutch found it particularly valuable in the spice trade, as it produced large quantities of cinnamon. It was also famous for precious stones. Several hundred gem quarries are still worked, and the pearly banks on the west coast have long been noteworthy. With the British occupation and conquest and the opening-up of commercial possibilities, Ceylon has become valuable in many other ways. In recent years coconut products, rubber, and tea have been the chief sources of wealth for the island. Several hundred million pounds of tea are exported every year — about half the world's supply.

Politically Ceylon has lagged somewhat behind the more advanced provinces of India, although the development has not been dissimilar. The same demand for a reform of the way in which they are governed has been made by the Ceylonese as by the Egyptians and the Indians. They held a National Congress in 1919 which drafted proposals for representative institutions. Constitutional reform has long been overdue, and the native "unrest" in other parts of the

East has found expression here as well. As a result of the agitation a new constitution has been granted which gives a majority in the Legislature to the unofficial element.

MALAYSIA

The peninsula of India was by no means the only center of interest for the eastern traders when England and France, Portugal and Holland, were contending for the privilege of holding the "gorgeous East in fee." As we have found, India was not regarded at first of such value for commercial purposes as the East Indies. The Malabar Coast was rather the place of assemblage. It is to be expected, therefore, that Great Britain should acquire possessions along this route to the East as the Empire has been built.

In the Bay of Bengal are the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, administered as a part of India. The Andamans are used as a penal settlement for life-term convicts from India. It was here that Lord Mayo was assassinated in 1872.¹

On the journey to the eastern coast of Asia the strategic point is the end of the Malay Peninsula where but a narrow trait separates it from the great island of Sumatra. Here the British have taken a strong position as the other trading nations had done before them. The port of Malacca had been famous for centuries before the Portuguese came to it early in the sixteenth century. It was captured by Albuquerque, who made it a base for conquest and for the control of the trade of the islands to the south and east. With the decline of the Portuguese power, the Dutch, who ever dogged their heels, took possession of the East Indies and Malacca. It was captured by them in 1641, remaining a Dutch port until captured by the British in 1795. For thirty years its status remained unsettled. Malacca was restored to Holland by the Peace of Amiens (1802), recaptured by the British five years later, returned to Holland in 1818, and finally became British by treaty in 1825.

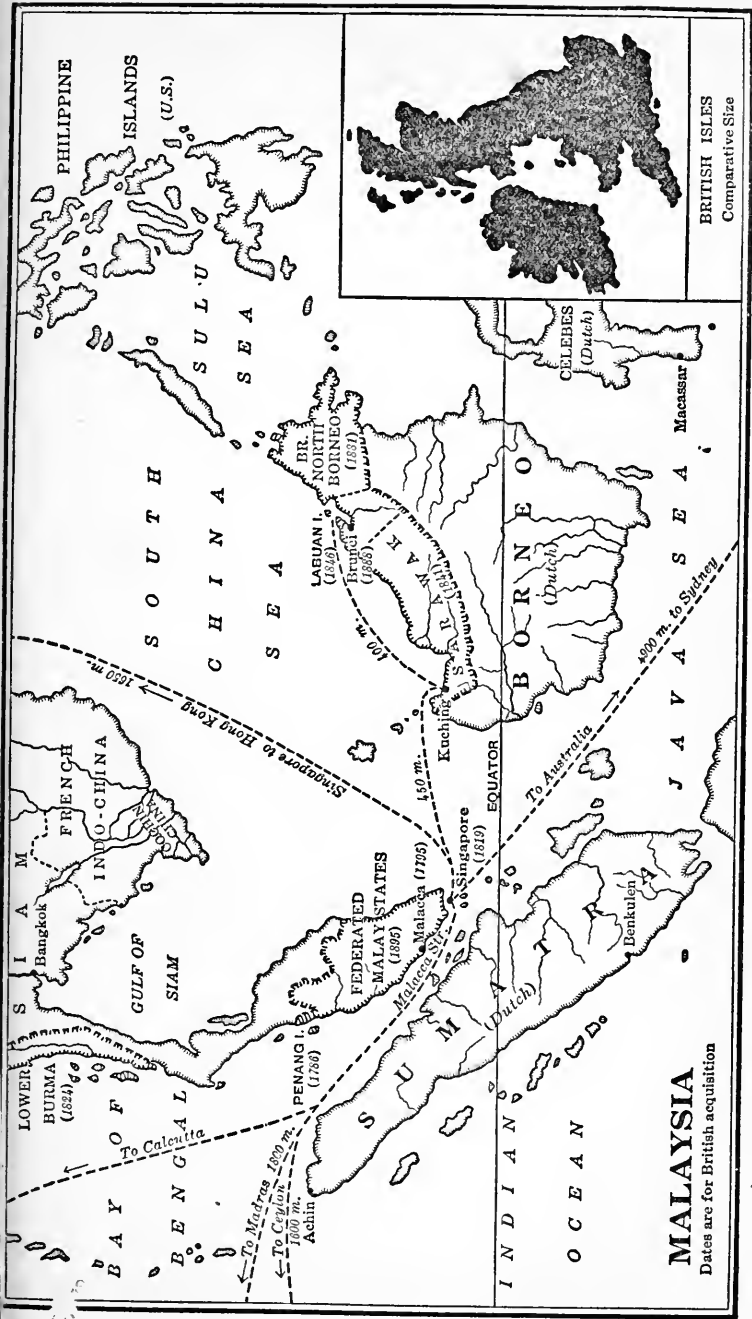
Before the British procured this trading-post they had

¹ See page 303. Readers of *The Sign of the Four* will recall Conan Doyle's realistic use of this penal settlement.

taken steps to obtain a footing in the straits. It is true that the Dutch, in the seventeenth century, had driven the British from the East Indies, with the exception of a few posts on the island of Sumatra. (As the China trade of the English East India Company grew more important, it became necessary to have a post on the natural sea-route between India and China. The island of Penang at the northern end of the straits and above Malacca was chosen as a satisfactory port of call. In 1786 a representative of the East India Company obtained it from the neighboring sultan. The strip of mainland which was included in the British territory by an additional cession in 1800 was called Province Wellesley from the Governor-General then ruling in India. / In 1805 so important had Penang become that it was raised to the rank of a presidency under the Governor-General of Bengal.

During the Napoleonic wars the British became a menace to the Dutch possessions in the East as well as to Ceylon and Cape Colony. Although no permanent holdings were added to the Empire from the Dutch islands in the East Indies during this period, British control was consolidated and strengthened in the straits. This was largely owing to the energy and foresight of a remarkable man, Sir Stamford Raffles. In 1805 Raffles had been sent to Penang as secretary for the East India Company. It was he who, in 1809, suggested to Lord Minto, then Governor-General of India, the conquest of Java. This was successfully undertaken in 1811, and Raffles was made Lieutenant-Governor of the new territory for the Company. He ruled for five years with conspicuous success over this island, which to-day is so valuable a part of the Dutch holdings in the East Indies. Nothing shows better the British disinclination for Empire in the early nineteenth century than the return of Java to the Dutch at the close of the Napoleonic wars. In 1818 this energetic servant of the Company was made Lieutenant-Governor of Benkulen, the British trading-post still retained on the west coast of Sumatra.

The most important work that Sir Stamford Raffles performed for the Company was the selection of the island of



MALAYSIA
 Dates are for British acquisition

Singapore as the chief British port in the Malay Straits. In 1819 he induced the Governor-General of India to annex this admirably located island. Lord Hastings was heartily in favor of Raffles' desire for Singapore, although the East India Company felt that it was likely to be an expensive addition to her territories and one that might embroil the English with the Dutch. In truth, Sir Stamford Raffles believed that the possession of Singapore would help British trading interests by furnishing an adequate means of countering Dutch influence in the Malay Straits. At the time the Dutch held Malacca on the north side as well as the islands of Sumatra and Java to the south.

The letters of this clear-sighted Englishman graphically describe the importance of the new port at the same time that they reveal the dominant commercial motive for a secure highway to the farther East. He wrote in the year in which he acquired Singapore: "You have only to glance at the map for the Straits of Singapore, at the south extreme of the Straits of Malacca and consider that we have another port under which all of the China trade must pass; this will convince you that our station completely outflanks the Straits of Malacca and secures a passage for our China ships at all times and under all circumstances. It has further been my good fortune to discover one of the most safe and extensive harbours in these seas. In short, Singapore is everything we could desire. . . . It will soon rise into importance; it breaks the spell; and they [the Dutch] are no longer the exclusive sovereigns of the Eastern Seas."

Never was a discoverer more certain of the enduring character of his work. In another letter of the same year he declared: "It is not necessary to say how much I am interested in the success of the place; it is a child of my own, and I have made it what it is. It bids fair to be the next port to Calcutta. You may take my word for it, this is by far the most important station in the East; and as far as naval superiority and commercial interests are concerned, of much higher value than whole continents of territory." To another correspondent he asserted a claim that proved to be true: "Our first port

of Singapore in these seas must eventually destroy the spell of Dutch monopoly; and what Malta is in the West that may Singapore become in the East.”¹ His foresight was abundantly justified. Already in 1828 the import and export trade of Singapore was twice that of Penang and three times as large as that of Malacca. This was in large part the result of making Singapore a free port. It became the great transit port in the Malay seas and has ever since constantly increased in importance.

During the nineteenth century the whole of the lower part of the Malay Peninsula came under British influence. Benkulen was exchanged for Dutch Malacca in 1825. The native Malay states to the north of Singapore gradually came under British influence. Toward the close of the nineteenth century the governments of five were federated under a British High Commissioner. In 1909 five more of the native states were transferred by treaty from Siam to Great Britain. Their position is not unlike that of the native states of India. Indeed, for the first half of the nineteenth century the Malay possessions were regarded as additions to India. It was only in 1867 that the Straits Settlements became a separate Crown Colony.

BORNEO

After passing out of the Straits past Singapore the next British possessions are found about seven hundred miles due east on the island of Borneo. Both the Spanish and Portuguese traded with this island in the sixteenth century. For a time the English East India Company had a factory there also. The trade languished, however, largely as a result of the excessive barbarism of the head-hunting Dyaks and of the extensive piracy carried on in these seas. About the time of the War of the American Revolution interest in the island was renewed. It was in 1774 that the East India Company entered into a treaty relation with the Sultan of Brunei — Borneo is but a corruption of this word — by

¹ *Memoir of the Life and Public Services of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles.* By a Widow. London, 1830, pp. 377, 380, 383.

which they obtained a monopoly of the pepper trade in his dominions. But the trade was not very brisk, because of the extraordinary hindrances we have already mentioned.

British interest in the country was finally renewed by a private adventurer of great interest, James Brooke. Born in India in 1803, he served under the East India Company, but retired from their service in 1826 after having been wounded in the Burmese War. He was of an adventurous spirit and talked of leading a crusade against the "Dutch vagabonds in the eastern seas." His aims were commercial as well, for he wanted to sail to Borneo and visit "Sarawak, the place whence small vessels bring the ore of antimony." He landed at Sarawak in 1839 and was much impressed by the country. In July, 1840, he made a second visit to Borneo with the intention of remaining but ten days. At the time the Sultan of Brunei was attempting to suppress a revolt in Sarawak, but he became discouraged in his efforts to repress the rebellion — an uprising for which his misrule was largely to blame. He implored the assistance of Brooke and offered him the rule of Sarawak as his representative, or raja.

Strange as it may seem, James Brooke accepted the offer of the Sultan, and became known as Raja Brooke of Sarawak. In an important letter written from Sarawak in 1841 he states the objects he had in view: "The extension of trade, the propagation of Christianity, the suppression of the atrocities practiced in the Dyak tribes and the extirpation of piracy."¹ His work was not easy, for he was almost alone. In the early years of his rule he had with him as assistants but four men who were not natives of Borneo, a doctor, a colored interpreter from Singapore, an illiterate servant, and a shipwrecked Irishman. Nevertheless his success was real. The lower classes were freed from the burdens of harsh taxation; they had the benefits of a court of justice in the Raja's own house; piracy and head-hunting were suppressed; in short, civilization took the place of savagery. The native chiefs assisted the white Raja in the administration of the country. From the very first, Sarawak has been ruled with an extraor

¹ *The Private Letters of Sir James Brooke*, London, 1853, I, 169.

dinary regard for the interests of the native population. James Brooke looked upon his rule as a trust, and his successors have not deviated from his ideals.

Raja Brooke retired in 1863, worn out by his strenuous life in a tropical country. He was succeeded by his nephew, Sir Charles Johnson Brooke, who carried on his uncle's beneficent methods until his own death in 1917. In the latter year, Charles Vyner Brooke, the present Raja, succeeded his father as the ruler of this Malay state. Sarawak, larger than England, thus presents one of the most curious conditions to be found in the world. It is a Malay state ruled by an hereditary line of white rajahs, who are at the same time citizens of Great Britain. Sarawak bears the same relation to the British Empire as do other protected native states, except that there is no need whatever for interference in its government. It is a part of the Empire so far as its relation with foreign powers is concerned.

North of Sarawak is Brunei, from whose Sultan it had been obtained by Brooke. During the nineteenth century Brunei has dwindled in size, and is now under the protection of a British Resident. North Borneo, which is adjacent to Brunei and occupies the northern end of the island, is under the government of a chartered company. The British North Borneo Company does not trade, as might be expected; its sole task is to govern. Off the coast of North Borneo is the island of Labuan. It is not a protectorate like the three mainland districts already mentioned, but an out-and-out British possession. Before it was ceded to Britain by the Sultan of Brunei in 1846, it had been the site of a factory of the English East India Company. Great things commercially were expected of this advantageously situated island; it was to be a second Singapore. But the unadvanced character of the peoples of Borneo have prevented the expected development.

CHINA

Continuing our journey along the Asiatic coast we find a much more valuable post for British trade in the island of

Hong Kong on the south coast of China at the mouth of the Canton River. In 1557 the Portuguese established themselves at Macao across the river from Hong Kong. In 1634 the English endeavored to open relations with the Chinese at Canton. At first they were unsuccessful, but later were permitted to trade on a very restricted basis with certain Canton merchants at the close of that century. The amount of trade was limited and it was to be carried on only through the East India Company. This situation remained until 1834, when the revision of the Company's charter deprived them of the monopoly of the Chinese trade.

Under the new arrangement a Superintendent of British trade was appointed for Canton. Yet the relations between the Chinese and the British were not smooth under the new system. The Chinese resented in particular the large importation of opium from India. This, as we have noticed, was a lucrative government monopoly and an important source for Indian revenue. The Chinese tried to prohibit the importation of the drug save for a small licensed trade. In consequence, smuggling became very common. The Chinese opposed the growing opium evil as best they could, even to the point of dumping twenty thousand chests of opium into the sea. As a result of this and other causes for friction, the so-called Opium War began in 1840. The British found the Chinese no match for European military methods, and easily conquered several coast cities with great slaughter. By the Treaty of Nanking (1841) five Chinese ports were opened to British trade, and Hong Kong was ceded to the victors. Although the Chinese refused to legalize the opium trade, the drug has been introduced in considerable quantities ever since. The cession of Hong Kong to the British has given the Empire a highly valued base in eastern waters. As a free port it has enjoyed an enormous business.¹

The only other British foothold on the eastern Asiatic

¹ In 1861 China ceded to Great Britain the peninsula of Kowloon, which is separated from Hong Kong by a narrow strait. Some additional neighboring territory was leased from China for ninety-nine years in 1898.

coast has been Weihaiwei, located at the end of the Shantung Peninsula within convenient distance of Kiao-chau and Port Arthur. It was obtained by lease from China in 1898. Germany in March of that year became the possessor of Kiao-chau by means of a ninety-nine-year lease. Later in the same month Russia obtained Port Arthur in a similar manner. In April France leased Kwangchau-wan, and in June and July Great Britain extended its territory about Hong Kong as well as procured a hold on the Shantung Peninsula by the lease of Weihaiwei. The necessity for preserving the balance of power in the Far East was the excuse for the British leases. Although strategically located Weihaiwei has never been fortified.

The relation of the Powers to China was profoundly affected by the Washington Conference of 1921-22. Early in the sessions China pressed for a removal of existing limitations upon its freedom of action. When the question of leased territories came before the Conference, the nations holding leases agreed to a partial withdrawal. France was willing to return Kwangchau-wan, and Japan, after long negotiations, promised to release its hold of Kiao-chau, which had been taken by the Japanese during the World War. Thereupon, Mr. Balfour, the chairman of the British delegation, stated formally what he had already made public that Great Britain would hand back Weihaiwei to China. Great Britain was not prepared, however, to act in the same manner regarding the territorial additions made in 1898 around Hong Kong, on the ground that the lease of the Kowloon extension had been effected in order that the free port of Hong Kong, the financial center of the East, might be more secure.¹

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¹ For the government of the Crown Colonies, the group to which most of the British possessions mentioned in this chapter belong see pp. 438 ff.

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CHAPTER XX

THE SUEZ CANAL AND EGYPT

WE have traced the growth of British power along the old trade routes around Africa to India, and from India eastward through the Malay Straits to the farther East. Commerce in the interests of a trading company is the key to the extension of the British power along these maritime highways. On our return to the homeland from India we have still a third route to traverse — now the most important of three for the security of British India and British commerce. It is the route westward across the Indian Ocean, east the southern side of the Arabian Peninsula, through the Suez Canal into the Mediterranean, and thence to the British Isles by way of Gibraltar.

Trading vessels had followed this course into the Red Sea since the Middle Ages. The prevailing north winds, however, and the lack of a continuous water route had led to the transference of goods by caravan to the Nile. They were then taken down the river to Cairo and Alexandria, and at Alexandria the riches of the East were loaded on Mediterranean vessels for the European trade. The value of this highway was greatly diminished when the all-sea journey around Africa was discovered, for a long carriage on water was cheaper and easier than a short journey requiring several reloadings of goods. It was not until the nineteenth century that the Red Sea route sprang to a place of first importance. The introduction of steam navigation had a marked influence, for contrary winds became of less importance. More influential was the connecting of the Red Sea with the Mediterranean by the Suez Canal. As a result, this route became the most traveled one between the British Isles and the valuable Indian and Australasian possessions.

The Suez Canal is on the line of a waterway which was probably in use centuries ago. When Napoleon was in Egypt, he planned for a connection between the Red Sea and

the Mediterranean, but the British interference with his occupation of Egypt prevented the fulfillment of this purpose. In 1837 a committee of Parliament reported on the best means of establishing communication with India by way of the Mediterranean. The committee, however, did not favor the Red Sea passage, recommending instead the route by way of the Euphrates River. Interest in a canal grew by the middle of the nineteenth century to the point of an investigation of the route by an international commission of engineers. The British were opposed to the plan but a Frenchman, De Lesseps, formed a company, which was largely capitalized in France. The Mohammedan ruler of Egypt agreed to contribute the necessary laborers by furnishing Egyptian fellaheen. In addition the Egyptian ruler, Said Pasha, made a preliminary loan and subscribed for a large share of the stock. The completed canal was formally opened in November, 1869.

Although the British had opposed the project, its value to them became evident almost immediately. Within five years over a thousand British vessels were passing through the canal annually. So important did the new waterway seem to the imperialistic Disraeli that he took measures in 1875 to bring it under British control. The Egyptian ruler, Ismail — Said's successor — becoming bankrupt, proceeded to make endeavors to liquidate his canal stock in Paris. Disraeli, on his own responsibility, purchased Ismail's shares for about four million pounds. This act was ratified by Parliament, and Great Britain became the chief owner of the new canal. It cut down the voyage from western Europe to India by thousands of miles and saved several weeks of time. In the year before the World War five thousand vessels used the canal, three fifths of which flew the British flag.

Great Britain has a number of stations on the road from India to the Suez Canal. At the point where the Red Sea is joined to the Gulf of Aden lies the little island of Perim; it is a British coaling-station. On the south shore of the Gulf of Aden is British Somaliland; on the north is the Peninsula of Aden. Farther east on the road to India is the British island

of Sokotra. The Kuria Muria Islands, off the coast of Arabia, were obtained by Great Britain in 1854 as a landing-place for the Red Sea cable. All these stations are links in the chain binding Britain to India. This is clearly indicated by the fact that, for governmental purposes, Aden with its dependencies, Perim, Sokotra, and the Kuria Muria Islands, have been under the Bombay Presidency. After the World War, however, they were transferred from the India Office to the Colonial Office.

Aden is very valuable. In mediæval days it was noteworthy in trade. The great Portuguese commander, Albuquerque, in the opening of the sixteenth century, regarded its possession as essential for the control of the wealth of the East Indies. Naturally its importance declined with the discovery of the sea-route around Africa, since the Portuguese held it more to prevent than develop its trade. It was in 1839 that the British obtained Aden. With the opening of the Suez Canal it leaped into prominence immediately. As Aden is about halfway between Suez and Bombay, it is a strategic station on one of the chief highroads of the world. Though mostly a bare rock, it has a good harbor that has been strongly fortified by Great Britain.

The Arabian Peninsula, which is shaped like an enormous axe with its cutting edge to the south, is bounded on the eastern side by the Persian Gulf. This great body of water, not far from India, is important for its commerce; at the head of the Gulf is Mesopotamia, comprising the rich river valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates. Because of near-by India, Great Britain has always had "peculiar interests" in the islands and shores of the Persian Gulf. In 1622 the East India Company expelled the Portuguese from Ormuz. As early as 1763 there was a British Resident in the Gulf. The agreements, commercial and political, with the various rulers of the territory along its shores have been numerous in the past century and a half. Persia, on the eastern side of the Gulf, has been a sphere of British influence for some time, for the Indian Government has felt it necessary to keep at least southern Persia under British control. The latest illustration is

the agreement between Great Britain and Persia made in 1919.

On the Arabian side of the Gulf there are various tribal groups under their emirs and sheiks. The most important is the state of Oman, which has a thousand miles of coast-line at the southeastern end of the Peninsula. This independent Arabian sultanate is actually subordinate to the Government of India. A state of similar character is the new kingdom of the Hejaz on the western side of the Peninsula. The only important islands in the Gulf are the Bahrein Islands, famous for their pearl fisheries. The relation of the Indian Government to these islands is even closer than to Oman; they are regarded as a part of the British Empire. British commercial interests in the Gulf have been so predominant for the last century that it was no surprise that the mandate of Mesopotamia went to the Power which enjoys commercial and political ascendancy in the Gulf.

THE MEDITERRANEAN .

The Mediterranean part of the journey from India to the mother country is as carefully guarded as the road from Bombay to the canal. At the eastern end of the Mediterranean the British hold Cyprus; as a halfway station there is Malta; the western entrance is controlled by Gibraltar.

In considering British interests in the Mediterranean one must not forget that Great Britain has possessed important holdings in this sea which it no longer controls. Charles II by his marriage with the Portuguese princess, Catherine of Braganza, in 1662, received a dowry of uncommon importance from the point of oversea expansion; it included Bombay in the East Indies and Tangier on the northwest coast of Africa. Bombay was turned over to the East India Company to become the nucleus of territorial possessions in India. Tangier, thirty-five miles southwest of Gibraltar, was fortified and held for only twenty years. A fortress and harbor that might have served British interests in the Mediterranean almost as well as Gibraltar, was abandoned in 1683 by

¹ See p. 65.

cause Charles II could not afford to defend it against Moorish attacks, and was unwilling to submit his needs to Parliament.

The island of Minorca, to the east of Spain, came into British possession early in the eighteenth century at the



same time that Gibraltar was acquired. Its excellent harbor of Port Mahon was in some ways better located than Gibraltar, especially for watching French activities. The island was lost, temporarily, in 1756. Admiral Byng, whose squadron did not prevent its capture, was shot on the quarter-deck of the *Monarque*, as a result of a court-martial that found him guilty of misconduct.¹

The Ionian Islands, west of Greece in the Adriatic, were placed under British protection by the Congress of Vienna at the close of the Napoleonic wars. They did not go the ordinary road of protectorates, however, and later become a Crown Colony, but were voluntarily relinquished to Greece in

¹ See p. 87. Minorca was finally ceded to Spain in 1802.

1864. Fifteen years after the downfall of Napoleon, Greece became independent, and the inhabitants of the Ionian Islands desired to unite with their kindred on the Continent. In 1858 Gladstone went out as a commissioner to investigate the native request; he was at first opposed to the cession of the islands to Greece, but five years after his brief mission the Ionian protectorate was surrendered "in spite of that national aversion to anything like giving up."¹ This recognition of the principle of nationality, uncommon in the early nineteenth century, came before the rise of the new imperial enthusiasm recorded in chapter xvii. Had the islands been kept for another generation, it is doubtful whether they would have been surrendered.

In spite of the loss of points of vantage so important for naval operations as Tangier, Minorca, and the Ionian Islands Great Britain is still able to guard effectually the road to the Suez Canal by means of such strategic holdings as Cyprus, Malta, and Gibraltar.

The Rock of Gibraltar is one of its best-known possessions. This impregnable fortress fell into British hands early in the eighteenth century. It was at the opening of the War of the Spanish Succession that the English admiral, Sir George Rooke, was instructed to take Cadiz or Gibraltar in order that Great Britain might have a convenient naval base whence to attack the French at Toulon. Gibraltar was captured in 1704 after a bombardment of a few hours. Several times in the early part of the eighteenth century the British Government was not unwilling to abandon Gibraltar. Gradually, however, its strategic value was realized. This Rock became a synonym for impregnability when the Spanish and French failed to capture it in the siege of 1779-83, in spite of extraordinary efforts to take this guardian of the Mediterranean. Its possession has given to the British a feeling of security for the most important of the Empire's highways. It is strongly fortified. The good harbor has made Gibraltar an important port of call for merchant shipping as well; be

¹ For a full account of this interesting episode see Morley's *Life of Gladstone* Bk. iv, ch. x.

tween four and five thousand vessels stop there every year. Although it has an area of less than two square miles, Gibraltar is a Crown Colony of the autocratically governed type.

Almost exactly halfway between Gibraltar and the Suez Canal is the island of Malta. This island has great historic interest and serves also as a highly valuable link on the highway to the East. The successive empires of the ancient and the Mediterranean world had left their impress on Malta before it became British. One of its supposed visitors during the days of Roman sway was the Apostle Paul. The shipwreck which is recorded in the Book of Acts took place, according to tradition, in St. Paul's Bay on the northwest coast. From the opening of the sixteenth century it was the seat of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. Napoleon, on his way to Egypt, captured the island in 1798. The British took it two years later and have retained it ever since. Valetta, the chief town, has "one of the finest natural harbors in the world." It ranks with Aden and Gibraltar as a port of call and as a refitment station and base for the British navy.¹

In the eastern Mediterranean the British hold the large island of Cyprus. Like Malta it has been under many masters and has received diverse influences. The student of English history will recall its conquest by Richard I during the Third Crusade, and the latter's marriage there to Queen Berengaria. For a time it belonged to the Knights Templars, later was an outpost of the Venetians, and finally in 1570 passed under Turkish control. In 1878 it became subject to British rule, though remaining nominally a part of the Turkish Empire. Great Britain took care that this island should not go to any other power, for it is but two hundred and thirty miles from the Suez Canal. It was considered of value, also, as a coaling-station and as a point from which Great Britain could keep a watchful eye on the neighboring Turkish mainland. In 1914 Cyprus was formally annexed, when Turkey became an enemy of, and a menace to, the British Empire.

The attitude of Great Britain toward the Ottoman Empire

¹ For Malta's novel political status in the Empire see pp. 439 ff.

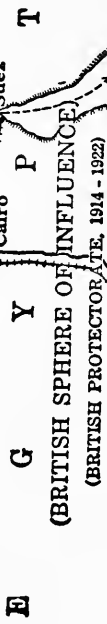
during the nineteenth century has been much influenced by the possession of India and by the Mediterranean route to the East. During the early years of the century the British were concerned in the freeing of European Turkey from the rule of the Ottomans; they assisted in obtaining the independence of Greece in 1830. As Russia became more aggressive in its approach to Constantinople, Great Britain grew more anxious to prevent its reaching the Mediterranean. This was to be done best by preserving the integrity of the Turkish dominions. For this reason the Crimean War was waged in the mid-century against an advancing Russia. The menace became ominous again in 1877 when Russia defeated Turkey disastrously, and rearranged the Balkan boundaries so as to deprive the Ottoman Empire of most of Macedonia. Again Britain feared Russian influence in Bulgaria and the Mediterranean. It forced the reconsideration of the Balkan question at the Congress of Berlin in 1878. There it was decided that the "unspeakable Turk" should keep Macedonia. Austria at this time "occupied" Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Great Britain assumed the same relation to Cyprus. If the integrity of the Ottoman Empire was not to be preserved, Great Britain was determined to have its share of the "sick man's" property, or, in any case, to keep control of the eastern Mediterranean.

THE BRITISH OCCUPATION OF EGYPT

This attitude toward the problem of the Near East is illustrated again by the history of Egypt, the part of the Turkish dominions most vitally related to the Suez Canal.

When Napoleon went to Egypt in 1798, he was opposed by the Mamelukes, a body of mercenary soldiers that had, to its great misfortune, ruled Egypt for a long time. Out of the troubles of the Napoleonic wars rose an adventurer of remarkable energy who was able to wrest the control of Egypt from the Mamelukes. Mehemet Ali, commander of an Albanian corps, was made Viceroy of the country in 1805 by the Sultan of Turkey. He found the Mamelukes a great obstacle to his power; it was over a decade before he succeeded in ex-

THE SUEZ CANAL AND ITS APPROACHES



terminating them. After securing control of the land of the Nile, Mehemet Ali set about reorganizing the army, building a navy, and developing the resources of the country. His ambitions were boundless. The Upper Nile valley known as the Sudan, was brought under partial control. The Sultan had to give him Crete in 1830; a few years later the ruler of Turkey was forced to hand over Syria to this ambitious Viceroy, although these territories were later returned to the Sultan on the intervention of the Powers. Mehemet Ali, while in some ways a veritable tyrant, proved an extremely vigorous administrator of Egypt for nearly fifty years. He died in 1849.

The next noteworthy ruler of Egypt was Ismail, the grandson of Mehemet Ali, whose rule lasted from 1863 to 1879. Ismail encouraged the building of the Suez Canal, which was completed during his reign, furnishing assistance for the accomplishment of the great task by his money and the forced labor of the fellaheen. Just two years before the canal was opened he obtained from the Sultan the title of Khedive, including the hereditary right for his family of the rule of Egypt. The Khedive was very active in developing and extending his power. Agriculture was promoted, roads built, the Sudan brought under further control. But to this interest in the development of his country he added a reckless extravagance that more than outweighed the good he accomplished. He spent large sums in procuring his freedom from Turkish rule. Expensive palaces were built, and his coffers were drained by the extravagant life of the court. In 1875 Ismail was a bankrupt. It was at this juncture that he sold his canal shares to Disraeli.

The next year the Khedive repudiated his debts. His creditors immediately took alarm. Thereupon the European states organized an international *Caisse de la Dette*, or Bank of the Debt, to secure enough of the Egyptian revenues to pay the interest on the Khedive's foreign obligations. In addition, France and Great Britain, as the two nations chiefly concerned, appointed controllers to supervise the finance of the bankrupt state. When Ismail balked again in 1879 -

he refused to pay the interest on the debt — he was deposed by the Sultan of Turkey at the request of the Powers.

Under his son and successor Tewfik the financial hold of the European nations became stronger. France and Great Britain established a Dual Control in 1880. But the growth of foreign interference aroused dissatisfaction among the Egyptians. A Nationalist revolt followed under the lead of certain Arabi Pasha. There was an insistent demand, on the part of the Mohammedans, for a National Parliament, and an army sufficiently strong to insure "Egypt for the Egyptians." In 1882 Arabi Pasha became Minister of War and the practical ruler of the country. Thereupon he declared the financial control of the foreigners at an end. The resentment of Great Britain and France was natural. In addition to the financial obligations that were endangered Great Britain feared for the safety of the canal.

The governments of these two nations felt that it was necessary to suppress the movement under Arabi and to reinstate Tewfik, who had taken refuge with the British. But just at this time an adverse vote of the French Chamber of Deputies dissolved the Dual Control; Britain was left alone to deal with a growing nationalist movement. In 1882 riots occurred in the city of Alexandria. Arabi's forces began to fortify the city just at the time that the French fleet sailed away and left the British alone. As the latter were determined not to lose hold of the situation, they promptly bombarded the newly erected fortifications. It was not of its own will that Great Britain was unassisted in restoring order and demanding recognition of financial obligations in Egypt. After France refused to give active assistance — even to the extent of patrolling the canal — Italy was invited to join. But Great Britain had no aid from either Italy or France in Egypt. After securing Alexandria an army of British and Indians was dispatched from the canal against Cairo. In September, 1882, Arabi's forces were defeated at Tel-el-Kebir, and Cairo fell shortly afterward. Arabi was captured and sent as an exile to Ceylon, and Tewfik was reinstated on his throne.

The throne had become an "empty chair," for, with this military action by the British, there began a British occupation. As France had taken no part in suppressing Arabi Pasha's revolt, Great Britain naturally felt that the Dual Control had ceased. Britain's predominant interest in the Suez Canal and the financial condition of Egypt made it unwise to evacuate the country after the revolt had been overcome, for that would have meant anarchy internally as well as danger to outside interests. The British decided, therefore, to remain and to supervise Egyptian affairs until peace and prosperity were established and the Egyptians proved themselves capable of self-government. At that time the British did not expect that the occupation would be permanent.

In 1884 Sir Evelyn Baring (Lord Cromer) was appointed British Agent and Consul-General. This great administrator was the wise guide of Egyptian affairs until his retirement in 1907. He well deserves the title of "Maker of Modern Egypt." Lord Cromer was set to work under a régime that was anomalous, to say the least. It would have been much simpler for him if Great Britain had immediately declared a protectorate over Egypt. But that would have reopened to a fresh consideration the question of the Near East. Russia and Austria-Hungary might have demanded "compensation" to offset Britain's gain. It required extraordinary ability in Lord Cromer to labor with a people of different language and race and religion who were being "advised," but were not willing to accept innovations. Lord Cromer proved "resolute, tactful, far-seeing, and inexhaustibly patient." It was fortunate that the Khedive, Tewfik Pasha, was not of the high-spirited type of his predecessors, Mehemet Ali and Ismail. He owed his throne to British intervention, and he coöperated with the British in the regeneration of the country.

Lack of space does not permit of a detailed treatment of the work done by the foreign administrators, who practically remade Egypt. For one thing, the *corvée* or forced labor of the fellaheen was abolished. The bulk of the peasantry had

been in practical slavery for centuries. The fellaheen, though freed from the ordinary *corvée*, were still liable to be called out in cases of emergency during the flood season of the Nile. Another measure of reform was a careful revaluation of the land, so that small cultivators would be taxed fairly and owners of large tracts of good land would not evade their obligations. The distribution of Nile water in the irrigation system has been made more equitable by the even-handed justice of the British officials. The reduction of the direct tax on the land and of the salt tax has gone far to better the lot of the lower classes. Above all, there was honesty and efficiency in the administration — a signal triumph in that part of the world.

The financial condition of Egypt has decidedly improved since 1882. When the British occupation began there was a debt of one hundred million pounds. It was necessary to make the service of this debt a first claim on the revenue. Besides, the Egyptian Government was required to hold in reserve other funds, making it difficult to finance the needed internal improvements. When the World War began the debt remained about as large as it was forty years before. It has been gradually decreasing, however, and the burdensome debt-charge of over three million pounds annually is being slowly diminished. Since 1905 the reserve funds have been at the disposal of the Egyptian Government.

The financial conditions were bound to improve as a result of the increased revenue obtainable from a developing country. The British have worked wonders in the conservation and distribution of the Nile water, so essential to the life of Egypt. The reservoir system has been enlarged, and the barrage just south of the Delta put into working order. The greatest accomplishment of the British was the completion, in 1903, of the Assouan Dam. This dam, near the southern border of Egypt, is over a mile long and backs up the waters of the Nile for nearly two hundred miles. Thousands of acres have been brought under cultivation as a result of these various projects.

THE SUDAN

During the time the British occupied Egypt they also brought the country to the south, known as the Sudan, under their control. Mehemet Ali had subjugated some of the tribes of the Sudan, but the greater part of it remained unknown and unconquered. It was in 1864 that the English traveler, Sir Samuel Baker, pushed up the Nile to Lake Victoria Nyanza. A few years later Ismail appointed this famous explorer and hunter to restore his waning authority in the Sudan. Baker suppressed the slave-trade and opened the country to commerce. On his departure, however, in 1873 the conditions in the Sudan soon relapsed to the state in which he had found them. In 1874 Ismail sent General Charles ("Chinese") Gordon to the Upper Nile country to complete the work of Baker. His wonderful energy in suppressing rebellion as well as in preventing the trade in slaves only served to arouse a feeling of bitter revolt among the tribesmen against the foreigners who were interfering with their ways of life. Gordon's governorship in the Sudan ended in 1879 when Ismail was deposed as Khedive.

Two years later the Sudanese dissatisfaction came to a head just at the time that Arabi Pasha was leading a similar movement in Egypt. The uprising in the Sudan was under a leader known as the Mahdi. He was particularly successful in arousing the dervishes against the foreigner, because of the appeal he made to religious fanaticism. It was widely believed that the Mahdi — or "Guide" — was a forerunner of the Messiah. The religious character of his frenzied leadership added great enthusiasm to the desire of the tribesmen to be free from the tax collector and the foreigner. The opportunity to carry on the slave-trade had something to do, also, with the growth of the Mahdi's power. A holy war began with the capture of Kordofan. The Egyptian Government determined to settle the Sudan question once for all by the decisive defeat of the new movement. For this purpose Colonel Hicks, a retired British officer, was sent south at the head of an army of ten thousand Egyptian troops. In

September, 1883, Hicks Pasha, as he is known, invaded Kor-dofan. Forty thousand of the Mahdi's forces attacked the little army and exterminated it.

This great disaster was not immediately retrieved, for the Egyptian Government and army were in a disorganized state. In addition, the Nationalist movement led by the Mahdi was growing stronger and stronger. It was decided, in view of the situation in both the Sudan and Egypt, to abandon the country of the Upper Nile. The withdrawal of the garrisons, the most important of which was at Khartum where the Blue Nile joins the White Nile, was the chief difficulty. General Gordon, despite Lord Cromer's disapproval of the selection, was sent to Khartum for the purpose of bringing about the evacuation. The choice was not a good one. As an uncompromising Christian of strongly religious temperament, he aroused the fanaticism of the der-vishes, who so profoundly believed in the Mahdi; as Governor-General of the Sudan from 1874 to 1879, he had been responsible for the cordial ill will of the natives by his vigorous attacks on the slave-trade and by other measures.¹

Gordon arrived at Khartum in the spring of 1884. By that time the evacuation of the Sudan became of less interest to him — and to the British public as well — than the reorganization of the Sudanese Government and the "smashing up of the Mahdi." Gordon delayed the evacuation until it was too late and the retreat was cut off by the Mahdi's forces. A remarkable siege of over ten months followed. After long delay, for which Gladstone was in part responsible, a relief expedition was organized. But it did not reach Khartum until January 28, 1885. Two days before, the place was stormed and the townspeople slaughtered. The head of Gordon was exhibited by order of the Mahdi in a prominent place on the public highway where all who passed could throw stones at it. The blame for this terrible disaster rests to a considerable degree on Gordon himself who, allured by the idea of ruling the country he had formerly adminis-

¹ There is an interesting essay on "The End of General Gordon" in Trachey's *Eminent Victorians* (New York, 1918).

tered, had exceeded his instructions. Queen Victoria wrote General Gordon's sister a letter of warm sympathy for "the stain left upon England for your dear Brother's cruel, though heroic fate."

After the great catastrophe at Khartum the Sudan was left to itself for a while. During the next decade the Egyptian army was reorganized with British officers in charge. It was not until 1896 that Lord Kitchener, the Sirdar or head of the Egyptian army, was ordered to reconquer the Sudan. The motives that led to the reconquest were diverse. Under the Khalifa, who had succeeded the Mahdi, the peace had been kept, but in the middle nineties the dervishes were growing active again, and Osman Digna, the ablest of the dervish leaders, was endangering the Egyptian frontier. The British, moreover, felt it necessary to hold the Upper Nile in order to secure the supply of water for Lower Egypt. Another reason for the reoccupation was the French intention to acquire the country by an invasion from the Congo region. Kitchener carried on his campaign of reconquest with great care. He maintained strong connections with his base of supplies, even building a railway two hundred miles long across the desert. In 1898 at Omdurman, across the Nile from Khartum, a great victory was won over the forces of the Khalifa. On his return to Great Britain the victorious general received the title of Baron Kitchener of Khartum.

After the Battle of Omdurman, Kitchener learned that a French force had reached Fashoda (Kodok), four hundred and fifty miles farther up the river. Major Marchand had penetrated to that point, marching east from the French Congo, in order to lay claim to the district for his Government. Thereupon Kitchener proceeded to Fashoda, where he found Marchand with his few followers in imminent danger of attack from the dervishes. Marchand refused to lower the French flag at Kitchener's demand. When the news reached home, feeling ran high on both sides of the Channel, and there was danger of an Anglo-French war had France persisted in supporting Marchand. It proved to be but an "incident," however, as France relinquished rights to

that part of the Sudan. In return, Great Britain recognized France's claim to the territory east and southeast of Lake Chad in central Africa. The Anglo-French Agreement of 1904 settled other problems of the two Governments, giving mutual support for projected colonial plans in Africa; French interests in Morocco were recognized by Great Britain, and the British were allowed by this Agreement to choose their own time for evacuating Egypt. Thus, by a strange turn in affairs, the "Fashoda Incident," instead of bringing war between France and England, laid the basis of that *entente cordiale*, which lasted through the World War against Germany.

The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan is administered by Egypt and Great Britain in concert, though it is really nothing more than the rule of the stronger of these two partners. The Governor-General is appointed by Egypt with the assent of Great Britain. The latter also has decided on the general policy of the administration. The governors of the fifteen provinces are British officers in the Egyptian army. The provincial subdivisions are in the hands of British inspectors, under whom Egyptian officers superintend the various districts. The population of this immense section of central Africa is over three million. Commercially it is useful as the world's most important source for gum arabic and ivory.

MODERN EGYPT

The thirteen million inhabitants of Egypt live along the Nile and in the Delta. The inhabited districts are densely peopled, averaging over one thousand to the square mile; the population has doubled since the British occupation took place. The Nile valley has been noted for centuries as one of the greatest producing areas in the world. In addition to the crops of wheat and rice there is a large amount of cotton produced; Great Britain annually obtains from Egypt more than £20,000,000 worth of raw cotton for the mills of Lancashire.

The government of Egypt at the opening of the World War was nominally under the Khedive and a ministry of natives.

A Legislative Assembly came into being in 1913, consisting of the ministers, sixty-six elected members, and seventeen members appointed by the Government. The assembly was given the power to initiate legislation and was consulted on the matter of loans, but the Government was not responsible to this body. If the two disagreed, the Government enacted laws as it saw fit. An exception to this autocratic system was the veto power over new direct personal or land taxes. Provincial and municipal councils were established that assisted in the administration of the country. The Egyptian army, which was reorganized after the British occupation, became an efficient force under British officers. There was also a British Army of Occupation, which continuously served as a thorn in the side of the subordinated country. Justice has been administered by a system of laws and courts in line with the customs of the people, although foreigners in Egypt have not been under the jurisdiction of the lower courts. The Capitulations (or treaties) made by the Turkish Empire with the fourteen principal Christian states have applied to Egypt as well. A person living in Egypt, but a citizen of one of these countries, has had the privilege of trial for an offense before the consul of his own country; in addition, he has been largely exempt from taxation.

Since the opening of the new century Egypt has gone through a period of "unrest," not unlike that we have found in India. Nationalism had developed both in Egypt and the Sudan in the days of Arabi's revolt. It was made more bitter as time went on, by the apparent intention of the British to stay permanently in the land of the Nile. The promises of the first years of the occupation that the British administration was but temporary gave place to more indefinite statements. The agreements entered into with France in 1899 and 1904 granted Britain permission to choose its own time for leaving the country. At the same time the British Government declared that it had no intention of altering the political status of Egypt. The fear of Egyptian Nationalists that Britain intended to remain permanently seemed to be proved correct, for in December, 1914, the "veiled" protectorate

the country was declared formally to be in effect and the suzerainty of Turkey at an end.

The Mohammedans, who compose ninety per cent of the population, had long looked forward to an independent, self-governing Egypt. The evident weakness of the Ottoman Empire since 1900 had given the Nationalists strong hope. The Young Turk revolt of 1908 further encouraged them in their wish for representative institutions, while the Italian and Balkan attacks on the Ottoman Empire made it evident that the "sick man" was moribund. Egypt's day seemed at hand. Since Abbas Hilmi succeeded Tewfik in 1892 the "unrest" has been continuous. The Nationalists have demanded a completely constitutional régime, even the removal of the British control of the Government and the army. Much the same criticism has been leveled against British rule in Egypt as in India. The military administration was felt to be a burden. The Egyptian Nationalists were strongly convinced that the country had been exploited to bring financial benefit to the foreigner. Above all, the Anglophobes have carped on the lack of any apparent plan for making Egypt serve primarily the Egyptians.

Sir Eldon Gorst, the successor of Lord Cromer, was interested in reform, but his amiable intentions were misinterpreted by the people. In 1910 Boutros Pasha, the Coptic Prime Minister, was murdered by a Mohammedan Nationalist. Seditious agencies in intimate connection with the Young Turks were found in Cairo. In 1912 a plot to murder the Khedive, the Premier, and Lord Kitchener was unearthed. Before the World War began, Lord Kitchener, as the British administrator, had strengthened his hold on the country. With the opening of the War of 1914 this ganglion of British dominion in the Old World became of supreme importance, for the Suez Canal needed protection, and Egypt was the country which would best serve this purpose, and at the same time serve also as a base of attack on the Turkish Empire. Accordingly, in December, 1914, the pro-German Khedive was deposed and Hussein Kamil became Sultan under Britain's "protection."¹

¹ For the relations between Great Britain and Egypt since 1914 see pp. 464 ff.

This step was but the registration of the growing control of Egypt, the occupation of which, at first regarded as temporary, became more definite with the passing of time. Great Britain found Egypt of such vital interest that a permanent hold seemed justified. Politically the country of the Nile is of great value, because of its proximity to the road to India. Economically it has been highly useful as the source of the best raw cotton for the mills of Lancashire. This double interest illustrates the natural British attitude to the other Turkish possessions that border the great sea-road. They have become important to Great Britain because of their relation to the Indian highway. And the very highway has increased in value as the British have added to their holdings along its course.

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CHAPTER XXI

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

THE last fifty years of South African development have been far different from the leisurely progress of earlier days. Before 1870 the provinces of the present Union had begun to take form and to reveal conditions that have become increasingly important. The Boers trekked north of the Orange and across the Vaal in the thirties to form the Orange Free State and the Transvaal; just at the middle of the century these two pastoral districts were granted self-government by the Sand River and Bloemfontein Conventions of 1852 and 1854, respectively. Natal came under British control, in spite of the attempts of the Boers to occupy it. Cape Colony, with the largest British population, was the most prosperous of the South African groups. In 1872 it received responsible government, after the form already granted to Canada and Australasia.

The relations of the Boers and the British conquerors had not been cordial. As we have found in an earlier chapter (xvi) the Dutch farmers became restless and dissatisfied under the rule of Britain. After the Great Trek the irreconcilables founded new homes where they could practice their pastoral form of life unhindered by standards they did not relish. Politically, the Boers were uninterested in the growth of the British Empire; they wanted the chance to be self-governing after their own conservative standards. Their religious and social viewpoints tended to separate Briton and Boer more and more as the nineteenth century progressed.

CONTINUED RACIAL FRICTION

The two Boer states north of the Orange were not destined long to continue in the isolation they desired. Yet for a quarter of a century after the republics were granted their independence the position of the two nationalities remained the same. But causes of further discord were appearing.

The Orange Free State had less difficulty than its northern neighbor, for it was under the wise guidance of President John Brand from 1863 to 1888. Although a believer in Dutch independence, his moderation and his willingness to coöperate with the Cape for the general welfare had helped to relieve tension.

In the Transvaal the situation was different. The more irreconcilable and adventurous elements had trekked to this more northern Boer state. For some time after the Sand River Convention an anarchic condition existed. Various parts of the Transvaal were practically self-governing until a union under the presidency of Pretorius was effected in 1864. In 1872 Pretorius had been succeeded by T. F. Burgers as President; by this time Paul Kruger, the most stubborn of the irreconcilables, had come to occupy an important place in Transvaal politics. The Transvaal Boers were cut off from the outside world and so felt freer to practice their exclusiveness than did the Boers of the Orange Free State.

Dutch exclusiveness, however, was an impossible condition for several reasons. The Boers were gradually expanding their territories by settlements beyond the original districts to which they had trekked. In this way they came into contact with British pioneers, for British expansion was just as natural as Boer growth. The British missionaries had worked for several decades in central Africa and in the districts to the west and east of the Boer republics. As elsewhere, settlement and trade followed in their steps. It was also natural that British subjects should move into the Boer states. Even if pastoral pursuits had remained the chief interest of Boer and Briton, trouble would have developed sooner or later in South Africa. The irrepressible conflict was seriously hastened by the discovery of diamonds at Kimberley and of gold on the Rand. These two sources of wealth attracted thousands of outsiders — Uitlanders — to the new industrial centers. With the intrusion of the foreigner and with his demand for equal privileges, trouble began that only ended with the Boer War at the close of the century.

In 1867 a valuable diamond was picked up near the Orange

River. A search for others was stimulated, with the result that "dry diggings" were discovered near the Vaal River at the western side of the Orange Free State. Here in 1871 the town of Kimberley was founded, and it rapidly became one of the most important mining centers in the world. This sterile district, known as Griqualand West, was the scene of remarkable changes. Diggers and capitalists, promoters and adventurers, brought a new sort of life to this remote section of South Africa. The former pastoral conditions were rudely upset by the new industry that grew so rapidly around Kimberley. Mining had come to revolutionize South African conditions and to intensify racial feeling.

The political effect of the discovery of diamonds was immediate. Kimberley lay in the land of the Griquas, whose chief was Waterboer. The Orange River sovereignty formerly included this district, and presumably the Orange Free State possessed it in 1871. But the claim of the Free State was ignored by the diggers, who named their new town after the British Colonial Secretary of the time. The controversy between Waterboer and the Orange Free State as to the control of the region was referred to the arbitration of the lieutenant-Governor of Natal; the award placed most of the diamond field in Waterboer's territory. The Griqua chief, finding the burden of governing the tumultuous life of a mining camp too arduous, ceded his territories to the British, and Griqualand West became a Crown Colony in October, 1871. The people of the Free State naturally suspected such a transaction as prearranged, and strongly protested at the loss of this territory to their stronger neighbor the moment that it became valuable. In 1876 the Boers received £90,000 as compensation from the British Government.

The annexation of the diamond country in 1871 and of Basutoland, to the east of the Free State, a few years before, marked the beginnings of a British advance that resulted in the annexation of the Transvaal in 1877. Gladstone's "Great Ministry," which had been characterized by a keen interest in liberal domestic reforms, but by a disinclination to a spirited and aggressive policy in foreign affairs, ended

in 1874. The Conservatives under the leadership of Disraeli came to power in that year and remained in power for the rest of the decade. A strong interest was evidenced by Disraeli and his party in imperial matters. The purchase of the Suez Canal shares, the proclamation of Victoria as Empress of India, the "occupation" of the island of Cyprus, all took place during this decade. The annexation of the Transvaal was in line with the policy of the administration.

Lord Carnarvon of the Colonial Office was greatly interested in the confederation of the South African colonies. A well-known historian, J. A. Froude, was sent to the Cape to urge Carnarvon's scheme. The choice was not an altogether felicitous one, and the opposition to federation grew stronger. A conference was called in London in 1876, but it was no more successful. In the next year a Permissive Federation Act passed Parliament, by which machinery was provided if the colonies wished to use it. In 1877 Sir Bartle Frere was sent out as Governor of Cape Colony with instructions to further union.

Although confederation seemed no nearer acceptance than in the days of Sir George Grey, there grew out of this general desire for a larger and better-knit British dominion in South Africa the addition of the Transvaal in 1877. Sir Theophilus Shepstone, Secretary of Native Affairs in Natal, was authorized to visit the Transvaal, to inquire concerning disturbances that had been occurring, and, if it seemed wise and a sufficient number of inhabitants desired it, to annex the territory in question. It is true that conditions in the Boer republic were bad; the executive was greatly weakened and the finances of the state were so low that salaries remained unpaid. Wars with the Zulus and the menace of a further conflict were doing much to demoralize the state. Shepstone, as a result of his visit to the Transvaal, professed to find there a considerable interest in a more stable government, even if that government were British; therefore, in accordance with his instructions, he annexed the country in 1877, promising that the Transvaal would have its own administration, its own laws, and legislative principles "com-

patible with the circumstances of the country and the intelligence of the people."

It proved to be an unwise step. President Burgers protested to no effect, except that he was allowed to retire on a British pension. The irreconcilables, notable among whom was Paul Kruger, began to do everything possible to bring about the freedom of the Transvaal.

To make matters more difficult for the British, they found themselves with a Zulu war on their hands just at the close of this decade. The Zulu danger had been one of the causes for Boer weakness. Cetewayo, the Zulu chieftain, was following in the path of his ancestors; he and his followers were eager to dip their spears in blood. Sir Bartle Frere felt compelled to bring order into Zululand by force of arms. The conflict began with decisive defeats for the British, although they were able to break down the power of Cetewayo by July of 1879. In spite of the fact that the war ended victoriously, it was disastrous for the administration, as it dissatisfied the people at home. The quarrel with the natives was really a Transvaal quarrel which had been passed on to the British as a result of the annexation. The people at home were tired of the expense and the monotony of the seemingly endless wars with the natives.

Shortly after the annexation Sir Theophilus Shepstone was succeeded by a less sympathetic Governor, and the Boers felt more restless than ever. Ill feeling in the Transvaal was increased by the non-fulfillment of the promises regarding representative government; a belated constitution was granted in 1880. Unfortunately, in that same year the Transvaal question was injected into British politics. The Liberals under Gladstone took the Conservative action in South Africa as a convenient point for attack during the political campaign. Gladstone in the Mid-Lothian speeches condemned the policy that had been paramount during the Israeli administration: "If these acquisitions were as valuable as they are valueless, I would repudiate them, because they were obtained by means dishonorable to the character of our country." Naturally the victory of Gladstone in the

spring of 1880 gave the Transvaal Boers great hope. As Gladstone did not act in the spirit of the Mid-Lothian speeches, the Boers of the Transvaal, under the lead of Kruger, Pretorius, and Joubert, declared the republic reëstablished.

In the war that followed the Boers quickly brought the Transvaal under their control. Sir George Colley hastened up from Maritzburg in Natal to relieve the British garrisons. The Boers disputed his advance at Laing's Nek, where the British were defeated. The crowning disaster came at the end of February, 1881, at Majuba Hill. Here, on the western side of Laing's Nek, at the northern end of Natal, the forces of Colley occupied the hill in order to turn the Boer position. The Boers fearlessly ascended the hill and completely defeated the British force. Colley and one hundred of his followers were killed; the Boers lost but two men. The British immediately agreed on an armistice and terms were arranged that gave the Boers practical independence.

The Pretoria Convention of August, 1881, granted large concessions to the Transvaal. There was to be a British Resident, British troops could be marched across the country, and the British were to control the Transvaal's foreign relations. Otherwise, the Boers were practically their own masters. The "Transvaal State," as it is called in the Convention, was not satisfied with these concessions. Kruger and his followers pressed for more privileges, which were granted in the London Convention of 1884. The "Transvaal State" became definitely the "South African Republic." "With a view to promote the peace and order of the said state" changes were made in "certain provisions which are inconvenient."¹ The right to march troops across the country was discontinued, and the supervision of native affairs was turned over to the Transvaal. The British control of foreign affairs was reduced to the right of vetoing a treaty within six months.

The result of the return of the Transvaal to independence

¹ The text of these Conventions will be found in Lucas, *South Africa*, II, 488-508.

in conjunction with a British defeat in battle was to embolden the Boers with the belief that they could go farther in their aims without serious hindrance. It was a mistake to grant concessions to the Transvaal after Majuba Hill. The Boers were not grateful for their independence; they felt that they had won it by force.

The vacillating British policy and its apparent willingness to allow defeat to remain unavenged led to a growth of the feeling of independence in the other South African colonies as well as in the Transvaal. Nationalist sentiment came to a concrete expression in 1882 in Cape Colony, when a congress was held at Graaf Reinet which declared for a united South Africa under its own flag. The organization formed was known as the Afrikaner Bond. The feeling of the Dutch as a whole is expressed in 1881 in the address to President Brand on the part of the victorious Transvaal: "Freedom shall arise in South Africa like the sun from the morning clouds, as freedom rose in the United States of America. Then shall it be Africa for the Afrikaner, from the Zambesi to Simon's Bay."

BRITISH EXPANSION

The prophecy of an Afrikaner union under its own flag was not to be fulfilled, at least in the near future. Other forces were at work which were to checkmate the Boer aspirations, for about 1885 a number of occurrences rendered British control of southern Africa more certain in spite of the vacillation of a few years before.

For one thing, imperialistic Great Britain was taking possession of many territories whose relationships had hitherto been uncertain. To the west, the north, and the east of the Boer republics the British Empire was extending its sway. In doing so the Government was but following in the wake of the missionaries.

By 1825 the missionaries had gone north of the Orange River, and in that year the town of Philippolis had been established and named in honor of the doughty opponent of the Boers, Dr. Philip. In 1816 work was begun among the

Bechuanas west of the Transvaal district, and the famous missionary, Robert Moffat, had settled at Kuruman in 1821. About the time that the Boer trekkers were driving the Matabels out of the Transvaal, the British missionaries were extending their operations to this people. The Boers, with equal determination, expelled the missionaries and the savages from the country between the Orange and the Limpopo. In 1840 the greatest of modern missionaries, David Livingstone, went to South Africa. He married a daughter of Robert Moffat, and became a worthy successor of that pioneer laborer. By the mid-century he was working as far north as Kolobeng. His intense interest in exploration as well as his love for the blacks led him to range far and wide. In 1849 he discovered Lake Ngami, north of the Kalahari Desert. It was not long before he reached the Zambesi River. In 1854 he made his way to the west coast of Africa at Loanda; he then returned eastward and crossed the continent by way of the Zambesi to the Indian Ocean. It was at this time that he discovered the great Victoria Falls, where the town of Livingstone is now located.

On his return to England in 1856, Livingstone was showered with honors and attention. In the next year appeared his *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, a work that very greatly served to increase British interest in the interior of the continent. When the explorer returned to Africa in 1858, he no longer went as a representative of the London Missionary Society, but as the commander of an expedition to explore central and eastern Africa. In 1859 he discovered Lake Nyasa; eight years later he was on the shore of the immense Lake Tanganyika, laboring to solve the question of the sources of the Nile and the Congo. Finally exhaustion overtook the tireless worker, and he died in 1873 about sixty miles south of Lake Bangweolo in Northern Rhodesia. It was truly a typical act that his native followers should have buried his heart in the center of the continent which he did so much to open to European civilization.

Largely as a result of the work of Livingstone and Stanley Africa became of great interest to the European nations

¹ See p. 290.

By 1885 there was a strong movement among the Powers of Europe to partition the Dark Continent. The year previous Germany had declared a protectorate over what came to be known as German South-West Africa. Contrary to the terms of the London Convention, the Boers began to spread out into Bechuanaland, which lay between the Boer states and German South-West Africa. Bechuanaland, as the "Suez Canal to Southern Central Africa," was very necessary for British interests which had already been established farther inland, and accordingly it was annexed in 1885 out of fear of a possible connection here between Boers and Germans. For similar reasons, Zululand on the eastern side of the Transvaal was taken by Great Britain in 1887. Parties of Boers had gone into the country, and there were rumors of a pending German annexation. In the same year Tongaland was added, at the request of the native queen. Thus the Boers were shut in on both the east and the west.

North of the Transvaal — that is, beyond the Limpopo River — was the Mashona country into which the Matabele had retired when driven from the Transvaal. The Matabele chieftain, Lobengula, ruled the country from his capital at Bulawayo. The possibilities of this unknown territory were thought to be very great. When gold was found in the Transvaal it was not unnatural to expect wealth from the adjoining country. In 1888 the British made an agreement with Lobengula, by which the Matabele chieftain promised to make no treaties with foreign powers and to dispose of none of his territories to other nations. During the next year a charter was granted to the British South Africa Company for the purpose of developing this district, with due consideration for native interests.

In 1890 a pioneer expedition was sent into this new country and forts were established at various points. Three years later, after a war with the Matabele, the capital was occupied. As the country furnished excellent grazing-lands the British settlers came in increasing numbers during the years following the British occupation.

Matabeleland no longer goes by its old name; on the map

of Africa it appears as Rhodesia. It was so called from Cecil Rhodes, one of the chief promoters of the British South Africa Company, and a principal figure in the development of British imperialism in opposition to the Boers under Kruger. Cecil Rhodes, the frail son of a vicar of Hertfordshire, was born in 1853. He prepared for matriculation at Oxford, but his health forbade his entry, and instead he was sent to a brother's cotton plantation in Natal, where it was thought the dry and bracing air would give him back his strength. He arrived in South Africa just as the diamond fields of Kimberley were being opened. With a "bucket and a spade, several volumes of the classics and a Greek lexicon," he followed the crowd to Kimberley. Soon he outdistanced all others in procuring wealth, being one of a group that organized the De Beers Mining Corporation in 1880. In the next year he obtained his degree at Oriel College, Oxford, having spent alternate half-years since 1876 at the university. No stranger figure is to be found in the annals of the British Empire than that of this health-seeking Oxford student coming to South Africa, where he rapidly rose to a commanding position among the diamond kings of Kimberley. Wealth, however, was not wholly an end with him; it became a means by which he hoped to further his ideas of empire for Britain. He was proud of the Empire, and determined that it should not be lost to Britain in South Africa.

In 1881 Cecil Rhodes entered the Cape Parliament, at a time that seemed especially untoward for one with his ideals. The disaster at Majuba Hill occurred in that year, and the Afrikaner Bond was organized in the next. At first Rhodes was almost alone. But his advocacy of expansion under the flag was joined with a strong feeling that Boer and Briton should be on an equality. Gradually he won the Cape Dutch support by standing for protection in behalf of agriculture. Jan Hendrik Hofmeyer, for many years the controller of the Bond, was his close friend. The northern expansion of the eighties, which we have already traced, was owing in large measure to the enthusiasm of Rhodes. By the end of the decade he became the head of the British South Africa Com-

pany which controlled Rhodesia, was master of the entire diamond business in Kimberley, and became Premier of Cape Colony in 1890. For the next six years he labored by means that were not always scrupulous to bring to fruition his scheme of a British South Africa. He found a worthy opponent in President Kruger of the Transvaal. During the last decade of the century the rivalry of Rhodes and Kruger, of Briton and Boer, led to a bitter conflict.

THE APPROACH OF WAR

A profound effect was produced on the growing ill feeling between the Boers and the British by the discovery of gold in the Transvaal Free State. In 1884 the precious metal was found in quartz formation at Barberton in the eastern part of the republic. Richer deposits were soon discovered in 1885 south of Pretoria on the Witwatersrand (or white-waters-ridge). The deposits, consisting of a conglomerate called "banket," were found in beds that could be traced for long distances and for several thousand feet in depth. The Rand immediately took rank as one of the great gold-producing centers of the world. It eclipsed both California and Australia, which had created such a sensation thirty-five years before. To-day over a third of the world's annual gold production is obtained from the Transvaal. It was but natural that another "rush" should take place. In 1886 the city of Johannesburg was founded. In a few months it had outgrown Pretoria, in ten years its population was over one hundred thousand, and to-day it is the largest and the richest city of South Africa.

The effect on the Transvaal of the Rand discoveries was far-reaching. The comparatively poor pastoral republic suddenly leaped to affluence. This was not necessarily a misfortune for the Boers, but accompanying this increase in wealth were a number of factors that were perceived with foreboding by Kruger and his compatriots. The influx of Britlanders was not welcomed, for this isolated farmers' republic was faced with problems that an alien population brought into the country. The gold-seekers were largely

British and they had standards of living and conceptions of progress that the Boers were unwilling to accept. Machinery and railways, commercial intercourse, and the growth of democratic government were but added complications for the Boers in their effort to keep free from British control.

Trouble soon developed between the Transvaal Government and the Uitlanders, for the Boers hampered the work of the miners in many ways. Railway construction was hesitatingly allowed, so that transportation, so essential a part of an inland industry, was inadequately provided. All material intended for the Rand was charged with heavy customs duties. This was especially true of the food-supplies. The price of coal to work the engines was made very expensive by the heavy freights. The dynamite so necessary for the blasting was the monopoly of a single company, which proceeded to make enormous profits from the concession. The large revenue obtained in these and other ways from the new industry went to the enrichment of the Boer state, but it was not used for the benefit of the Johannesburg miners. The courts used Dutch, with which the Uitlanders as a rule were unfamiliar, and the educational system made no provision for the teaching of English. The Uitlander was powerless to work in his own behalf, for he possessed no political privileges; in 1882 the residence requirement for the franchise had been made five years, and in 1890 it was fixed at ten.

Under such conditions the Uitlanders began to agitate for reform. In 1892 they organized the Transvaal National Union to obtain "political rights and the redress of grievances." In 1894 some British subjects were forced to serve in levies used to quell native uprisings. In the next year the drifts, or fords of the Vaal River, through which goods came from the Cape, were declared closed. The British Government, through the High Commissioner of South Africa, had to intervene at this point to prevent distinct violations of former agreements.

By 1895 the Uitlanders were completely out of patience. A plot was formed to overthrow the Transvaal Government.

The Uitlanders had come to an understanding with Cecil Rhodes, then Prime Minister of Cape Colony, by which outside assistance was promised the conspirators. Guns were sent to Johannesburg and a force under Dr. Jameson—an intimate friend of Rhodes—was collected at Mafeking to coöperate with the Uitlanders. It was arranged that the revolution should occur just at the end of the year and Dr. Jameson was then to hurry to the assistance of the uprising, while Cecil Rhodes was to keep the Dutch quiet in the Cape Colony and urge British governmental intervention. But the revolution in Johannesburg was delayed on account of disagreement among the Uitlanders. Unfortunately Dr. Jameson was so impatient that he invaded the Transvaal with five hundred men on January 29th, even though a revolution had not yet started on the Rand. The Raid was premature and unwise. The entire force was captured a few days later a few miles west of Johannesburg.

The whole affair tended to strengthen the Transvaal Government, for the Raid seemed to show that British imperialists had worked from the outside to overthrow the Dutch republic. A few days after the Raid the Kaiser startled the world by a telegram to Kruger, which aroused a storm of resentment in Britain. It read: "I express to you my sincere congratulations that without appealing to the help of friendly powers you and your people have succeeded in repelling with your own forces the armed bands which had broken into your country, and in maintaining the independence of your country against foreign aggression."

Indeed, the Raid was quite indefensible. Jameson and his chief followers were tried and condemned in British courts. Cecil Rhodes was stripped of his honors, forced to give up the chairmanship of the British South Africa Company, and compelled to resign as Premier of Cape Colony. It is clear that the British Government was not concerned in the affair. An exhaustive inquiry was made by the House of Commons, which found Rhodes at serious fault for his action, but which found that the High Commissioner of South Africa, Sir Hercules Robinson, and the Colonial Secretary,

Joseph Chamberlain, were ignorant of the conspiracy. The report of the Committee of Inquiry concluded that grave injury had been done to British influence in South Africa; "Public confidence was shaken, race feeling embittered, and serious difficulties were created with neighboring states."

Certainly from this time on matters grew rapidly worse. Kruger's heart was hardened against any concessions. As for the Uitlanders, they were worse off than ever; the leaders of the revolt were heavily fined, a severe press law was passed, and public meetings were restricted. The Uitlanders were still practically disenfranchised. In 1898 a British subject in Johannesburg was shot in his home by a Boer policeman who entered without a warrant. Colored British subjects were ill-treated and Uitlander meetings prevented. In the spring of 1899 the Uitlanders sent a petition to Queen Victoria, in which it was pointed out at length that "the condition of Your Majesty's subjects in this state has become wellnigh intolerable." In May Sir Alfred Milner, who had been appointed High Commissioner of South Africa, telegraphed to England that he believed intervention was necessary "to obtain for the Uitlanders in the Transvaal a fair share of the government of the country which owes everything to their exertions." A conference in June at Bloemfontein was of no avail, as Kruger took the position that the granting of concessions would mean handing his country over to the foreigner. In the latter part of September, 1899, the Transvaal and the Free State — which had now united with its sister-republic — sent an ultimatum to the British, and war was the result.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR

The British were quite unprepared for the conflict. The Boers, on the other hand, were fighting on familiar ground, had chosen their own time to begin, and were defending their fatherland. Two days after the ultimatum the Boers began the war by invading Natal. The British forces were pushed southward until they were surrounded and besieged in Ladysmith. Kimberley and Mafeking, on the other side of the

Boer states, were soon in a similar plight. At first everything went against the British; Buller's attempts to relieve Ladysmith were slow and very costly, and Methuen's efforts to succor Kimberley resulted in several severe defeats. The news of these disasters was received with consternation by the Empire as a whole, for it was commonly thought that the war would be over in six weeks. Thereupon Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener were promptly sent to retrieve the situation, and the various parts of the Empire offered military assistance.

In February, 1900, Kimberley and Ladysmith were relieved and the advance on Bloemfontein and Pretoria was begun. On March 13th Bloemfontein was entered. In May Mafeking was succored and Johannesburg occupied. On June 5, 1900, the British entered the Transvaal capital, Pretoria. Thereupon the two Boer states were annexed. The occupation of the two capitals did not mean that the war was at an end, for the Boers carried on a guerilla struggle with great bravery for some time. Kitchener's severe methods and the systematic occupation of the country, which was facilitated by the gathering of Boer non-combatants into concentration camps, finally wore down the opposition. By May, 1902, the republics were ready for peace.

The Treaty of Pretoria provided for the subjugation of the Free State and the Transvaal to British authority. But the terms were not ungenerous. Repatriation of prisoners was to take place as rapidly as possible. The Dutch language was to be taught in the schools of the defeated states and to be allowed in the courts of law. The military administrations of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State were to be replaced by civil government, and, "as soon as circumstances permit," representative institutions leading to self-government were to be introduced. The expenses of the war were not to be defrayed by a land tax on the Boer states. The sum of three million pounds was to be placed in the hands of a commission for the purpose of helping the war-scourged people to rebuild their homes and to obtain seed and live stock and implements. In addition to this amount, loans

were to be made free of interest for two years and thereafter at three per cent to help in the work of reconstruction.

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

After the conflict the work of reëstablishing the defeated people was pressed forward. Lord Milner had been appointed Governor of the two Boer states, and until his resignation in 1905 he worked earnestly for the betterment, materially and politically, of the states under his care. He formed a nominated Legislative Council for the Transvaal to which the prominent Boer leaders were invited. Within three years a further step was taken, by which a constitution was granted to this state, providing for a Legislative Council, of which a portion of the members were elected on a very wide franchise.

In 1905 came the change from the Conservative Government under Mr. Arthur Balfour, which had carried on the war, to a Liberal Government under Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. The newly installed party immediately went the full step of giving the Transvaal responsible government. The Constitution of 1906 provided for two chambers; in case of disagreement they were to sit together, a provision that gave the real power into the hands of the elected Legislative Assembly. The Prime Minister of the Transvaal was the former Boer general, Louis Botha. This early grant to the Transvaal of representative institutions was a daring but successful move. Two years later responsible government was given to the Orange Free State, where the Boers came into power under the leadership of Christian de Wet, another brilliant military leader in the late war.

By this time the movement for the union of all the British colonies in South Africa was growing stronger. Confederation had been advocated prematurely by Sir George Grey in 1856 and by Lord Carnarvon and his appointee, Sir Bartle Frere, in the seventies. After the Boer War the feeling for union became widespread for various reasons. The South African states suffered from want of a concerted policy with regard to the native population. Labor, especially for the

mines, was a fruitful source of misunderstanding. For example, the introduction of Chinese coolies during the reconstruction days in order to quicken the production of wealth, was the cause of much criticism. The tariffs and the railways needed to be controlled in a way that would be fair to all the states. Lord Milner urged greater coöperation, and a number of his assistants in reconstruction, notably Lionel Curtis, did much to further the federation movement by publications and agitation. Lord Selborne, the Colonial Secretary, was in favor of a closer union and so expressed himself in a noteworthy memorandum in 1907. At this time also a resolution to this effect was presented in the Cape Assembly.

In 1908 an inter-colonial conference was held in Pretoria to discuss the railway rates and the tariff. At that meeting General Smuts moved that a National Convention be called to draw up plans for union; toward the close of 1908 the National Convention met in Durban. Twelve delegates came from the Cape, the Transvaal sent eight, Natal and the Orange Free State were represented by five each. The Transvaal representatives included the former Boer generals, Botha and Smuts, and the old Uitlanders, Farrar and Fitzpatrick. The chairman of the Convention was Sir J. H. de Villiers, Chief Justice of the Cape Colony. The delegates, first at Durban and in later sessions at Cape Town, worked out the union constitution behind closed doors. It was published in February, 1909, and, after some changes, it was accepted by the four states. Then it went to the Imperial Parliament at Westminster and received the royal assent in September, 1909.

The constitution of South Africa provides for a close union with power in the central Government instead of a federation like that of Australia. The adoption of this unitary form of government seemed natural. The divisions in South Africa were more a long racial than territorial lines. The difficulties which it was hoped union would solve were matters that needed a strong central administration. The tariff, the railways, the native, could be best handled by a single central authority. Yet the very emphasis on a unitary system has

caused some dissatisfaction, which a looser federal organization might not have aroused.

The Governor-General represents the home Government as in the other dominions. There is a Senate and a House of Assembly. The former is composed of forty members, eight appointed by the Governor-General-in-Council and the remainder selected by the colonial legislatures, eight from each province. Four of the appointed senators "shall be selected on the ground mainly of their thorough acquaintance, by reason of their official experience or otherwise, with the reasonable wants and wishes of the colored races in South Africa." The House of Assembly is elected by the people, the provinces deciding their own franchise regulations. The Executive is a Cabinet of seven members responsible to Parliament. There are two capitals, the Parliament sitting at Cape Town, and the administration centering in Pretoria. A provision that contributed much to the growth of good feeling was the arrangement by which the English and Dutch languages were both official languages "on a footing of equality."

On the organization of the Union, General Botha became Prime Minister. He headed a Boer party which had a majority over the combined British and Labor representatives. In 1913 the Boer party split, the moderate Boers following General Botha and forming the South African Party. The extremists, comprising the National Boer Party, were led by General Hertzog. The outbreak of the war in Europe in 1914 seemed to the irreconcilables to offer the chance for a recovery of Boer independence, but the ease with which the rebellion was suppressed was the direct result of the wisdom of the British Government in having granted such generous terms of self-government to their late enemies. South Africa felt that it had gained freedom and something more — the privileges which go with inclusion in that great community of nations which make up the British Empire.

South Africa has had a checkered history, in which strain and stress have been constant. Two rival white races have settled in a country peopled by a predominant black population. In 1921 but twenty per cent of the total population

f seven millions was white. The white peoples had struggled for supremacy with the blacks in many wars, and then the whites fought out their own difficulties, with the result that the Empire of Britain won. There are irreconcilables yet among the Boers; it would be strange if such were not the case. The government, however, is so completely in the hands of the white inhabitants, with so little interference from the authorities in Great Britain, that the Union of South Africa — the youngest of the self-governing Dominions — would seem to be wise if it worked out its difficulties under the flag of the Empire.

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CHAPTER XXII

MODERN AUSTRALASIA

IN considering the recent years of Australasian growth we shall first treat of New Zealand, as it grew to be more and more distinct from the colonies on the continent of Australia. Although it had an altogether different native problem, the growth of New Zealand, both politically and materially, has been strikingly like that of its neighbors to the west. Sir George Grey had done notable work as the executive of New Zealand from 1845 to 1863. During Grey's administration in the land of the Maoris, the government had been consolidated by the Constitution Act which went into effect in 1853.

By this Act the three colonies of the North Island — Auckland, New Plymouth, and Wellington — and the three on South Island — Nelson, Canterbury, and Otago — were made into provinces which were bound together by a Governor, a Legislative Council, and a House of Representatives. As pointed out in an earlier chapter (xv), the six colonies were not extensions from one original foundation, but settlements that had been formed independently. As a result, provincial feeling was strong from the first, and the members were but loosely bound together by the Constitution of 1852. The closer union was to come only with the growth of the population and the break-up of the original units by the formation of new provinces in which the local feeling was not so strong.

MAORI TROUBLES IN NEW ZEALAND

The Governor under the Act of 1852 did not share the conduct of native affairs with the assemblies, and it was natural that friction should result. In fact, the Maori was the absorbing interest in New Zealand for some years after the new constitution went into effect. The problem was similar to that in South Africa, for in both colonies the aborigines were highly developed and adept in war. In South Africa the

possession of extensive flocks and herds caused bitterness between the whites and the blacks; in New Zealand the encroachment of the settlers on the land of the Maoris eventuated in serious trouble.

Not long after the departure of Sir George Grey for South Africa, trouble with the Maoris recommenced. An unsympathetic governor and rapacious settlers led to a neglect of the native interests so solemnly promised in the Treaty of Waitangi¹ and in the Constitution. The Maori found himself outside the protection of English law, neglected and slowly losing his property. In order to protect themselves, the aborigines formed a sort of government of their own, with a king at the head. Although the "king movement" did not include all the tribes, it became a means of unifying the Maoris when trouble actually materialized.

War broke out in 1859 over a land matter. The settlers at New Plymouth — on the west coast of the North Island — wanted more land. A certain native offered to sell some land, known as the "Waitara Block," near New Plymouth, but the chief declared the land the property of the tribe. The Governor ignored the chief, but, on attempting to take possession of the tract by force, he found himself opposed by the natives. It was ten years before the conflict or series of conflicts with the natives came to an end. The Maoris regarded the struggle as a war for their country and fought with great determination. The wild character of the districts they occupied added to the difficulties of the British troops. In addition, the natives were expert fighters, equipped with firearms and possessed with good defense works in their *pahs*.²

Sir George Grey was sent back to New Zealand in 1861 to

¹ See p. 254.

² A *pah* was not unlike an early mediæval stronghold. It showed considerable engineering skill, consisting of ditches, double lines of palisades, and towers. Within were barracks and ovens and magazines. Great care was taken to provide a means of escape, if the occupants should be hard pressed by the enemy; there were secret paths through the near-by swamps by which the *pah* was usually partially surrounded. In Jenks, *History of the Australasian Colonies*, p. 288, and Henderson, *Life of Sir George Grey*, p. 210, plans of these curious structures are given.

make peace between native and settler. His second administration lasted until 1868. It was one of constant trouble with the Maoris. He advised and arranged for the return of the Waitara Block to the natives, but, before the matter could be settled, some British soldiers were shot from an ambush near New Plymouth. The renewed hostilities lasted until 1868. The British gradually wore out the Maoris, confiscating and occupying the land of the "rebels."

In the end, the Maori was not exterminated, nor was he completely deprived of his lands. In the South Island and certain parts of North Island, notably on the east coast, the natives have accepted the white man's civilization to a considerable extent. The King Country — the central part of the North Island — is yet poorly developed. The Maoris cling to the land, but often do not evince a great interest in the development of the several million acres they still possess. As it is more than they actually need, if compared with the holdings of the whites, the alienation of further sections may take place if the land is not properly developed.

Since 1870 there has been little trouble, and for the past thirty years the two peoples have dwelt together peacefully. It is impossible to conjecture what the future of the Maoris will be. In 1850 the natives were in a majority, but the incoming of white settlers has changed the proportion. The Maoris are now but five per cent of the total population. For a time the actual number of natives was decreasing; in the past ten years, however, they have been increasing slightly, numbering about fifty thousand in 1921. As a result of their ownership of land they are on an equality with the white settlers. Near the close of the war (1921) an Act was passed by which four native members were elected to the House of Representatives. The Maoris are represented also, in the Council. Although racial intermixture is not taking place to any extent, the present tolerant attitude of the two races should lead to a gradual growth of the Maori people. They have made wonderful advances in civilization when it is remembered that half a century ago they were living as cannibals.

NEW ZEALAND UNIFICATION

The Constitution Act of 1852 had provided for a federal system by which the six provinces were given considerable local power. There was reason enough at the time for this type of government, since New Zealand was not yet thickly settled and since the provinces were distinctly separated by conflicting interests and by natural physical barriers. As time went on the provincial system came to be less and less satisfactory. The creation of several new provinces only helped to emphasize the need for a stronger central government. The seat of federal administration became better located in 1865, when the government of the provinces was transferred from Auckland to Wellington. The increasing importance of South Island had much to do with the choice of this more accessible capital.

The final step toward unity came in 1876. In that year the provincial system was abolished. It was not done without a struggle, however. Sir George Grey, who had lived in retirement since 1868, came back into public life to defend the system he had done so much to establish. He was elected Superintendent for the Province of Auckland and chosen as a member of the House of Representatives. Nevertheless, his eloquence was unable to prevent what the progress of the islands had made imperative — the abolition of the Provincial Councils. Since 1876 there has been but one government for New Zealand.

One of the principal objections to the old system was the difficulty of rapidly developing the public interests of the islands. What was called the Public Works Policy was the colony's main interest from 1868 to 1890, a development in which Sir Julius Vogel took the lead. After a central Ministry of Public Works had been created in 1870, the New Zealand Government borrowed large sums by which to force forward the colony's growth. Railways were to be constructed from end to end of each island. Labor for the improvement policy and settlers to take up the waste lands were to come from immigration. Systematic efforts were

made to revive an interest in New Zealand as a place attractive to British and European immigrants. As the Maori wars had given the islands a bad reputation, commissioners were sent to Europe to correct evil impressions and to "boom" the country. An Emigrants' and Colonists' Aid Corporation was established in London, by which liberal financial assistance was given to prospective settlers. So successful was this policy that New Zealand's population doubled in thirteen years. The revenue increased even more rapidly, for that of 1873 was double that of 1871.

Sir George Grey was a believer in the Public Works Policy, and also held advanced ideas about the taxation of the land and its release to the small farmers. In his premiership of 1877-79 the high tide of this "boom" was reached. During the next decade there was considerable depression, causing a necessary retrenchment on the incautious policy of Sir Julius Vogel, but there was no serious delay in New Zealand's growth.

RECENT PROGRESS IN NEW ZEALAND

Since 1890 New Zealand has been the theater of highly dramatic and novel acts of radical legislation in many fields. Sir George Grey may well be regarded as the progenitor of the progressive party which has been in power since 1890. The purpose of Grey and his successors has been the destruction of private monopoly and the extension of the power of the people. Noteworthy in the list of leaders in this reform movement was John Ballance, who assumed office in 1891. Under his guidance the new policy of State Socialism was definitely inaugurated. When he died in 1893 he was succeeded by his lieutenant, Richard John Seddon. Gifted with courage, enthusiasm, and a robust constitution, Seddon was the dominating power in New Zealand politics from 1893 until his death in 1906. After that year Seddon's party was led by Sir Joseph Ward. The legislation enacted under the leadership of these men dealt with taxation, labor conditions, and various social matters. In addition, the state has taken an increasingly important part in many industries.

Noteworthy constitutional changes have been made. In 1879 triennial parliaments and manhood suffrage were introduced. In 1893, at the opening of the new legislative era, women of both races were given the vote on the same terms as men. In 1896 plural voting was abolished. Twelve years later a scheme for registering the real wish of the majority was established by the introduction of the second ballot; by this provision the two highest candidates in a group in which no one has received a majority are voted on a second time.

Taxation, before the nineties, had been imposed on property in general, but in 1891 the property tax was replaced by a taxation on land and incomes. In both cases the tax was graduated, with a decided "hardening-up" for the holders of wealth. By this system the land and the wealth have been more generally distributed and the burden for state expenditures more equitably placed. In 1918 half of New Zealand's receipts were realized from the income tax.

The principal reason for the graduated land tax was the holding of a great share of the usable land by a comparatively few people. In 1891 one million acres of land were held by fifty absentee landlords, and nearly half of the ten million acres under private ownership was in holdings of over ten thousand acres in size. This situation needed sharp treatment, and it certainly received it at the hands of the Ballance-Edmond reforming party. In addition to the graduated tax on land, provision was made for the purchase of large estates from their private owners, to be cut up into small farms. If the owners were unwilling to sell, the land might be taken compulsorily under the Land for Settlements Act. Adequate compensation has been given the owners, and, in general, they have shown little enmity to this process of subdividing large estates. By this method a million acres have been made available for settlement. Elaborate provisions were enacted for the occupation of government or Crown lands as well. As a result of these determined efforts to redistribute the land, the situation has been remarkably improved over that of thirty years before; the average area of holdings in 1918 was less than six hundred acres.

New Zealand has been noted for its pioneer labor legislation. In fact, this was regarded, along with the closer settlement of the land, as the "twin measure" of relief, by which the country's condition could be ameliorated. The Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act of 1895 is the basis for the labor legislation. By this measure workers were allowed to organize unions and to file their collective complaints with a Conciliation Board. The Board then investigated and made a recommendation. If this were rejected by either party, the case could be taken to the Arbitration Court, whose decision was law. The tendency of this system of settling labor disputes has been to make the New Zealand worker more willing and more intelligent. On the other hand, disputes of a questionable nature were often brought up, to the scandal of the system. In 1901 the law was amended so that it became possible to take matters directly to the Court. A further change was made in 1908, when Conciliation Councils consisting of nominees of the interested parties were instituted in place of the former Boards. Industrial arbitration has become well rooted in New Zealand, where it has worked for the general betterment of conditions.

The most interesting of New Zealand's activities has been the very great part taken by the state in various fields often controlled by private individuals. The welfare of the people has been so constantly before the legislators that many activities have been entered by the state to protect the public. New Zealand has a state bank. Since 1905 houses for workmen have been erected by the Government in many of the industrial centers. New Zealand even deals in trading stamps. For many years there has been a Life Insurance Department of the New Zealand Government, and since 1905 the state has been in the fire insurance business as well. In 1873 a Public Trust Office was organized, which in 1918, administered over thirteen thousand estates. The Government owns the entire railway system, which is operated at a profit of but three per cent. Any excess of income over this rate has been followed by reductions in passenger charges and freight rates.

Many other interesting phases of state activity could be added. The Government owns and operates extensive coal mines. The Auckland oyster beds were taken over by the state to prevent their ruthless misuse. Sawmills, fish hatcheries, assisted immigration, the importation of blooded stock, and maternity hospitals furnish other outlets for state activity. The Government even took over the town of Rotorua, because the expenditure of state money on baths and resorts was practically the only source of the community's wealth. The general effect of state interference in the fields ordinarily under private enterprise has been to make prices more reasonable, and to improve the welfare of the people as a whole. Of late years, however, the tendency toward state action of this sort has not been so pronounced. The encouragement of private enterprise is now safe, since the Government has so firm a hold on the country's life.

The recent years of New Zealand's history have been happily uneventful, save for the successive steps in state control which have been briefly enumerated. In 1907 the name of the colony was changed to the Dominion of New Zealand, and ten years later the Governor became the Governor-General. New Zealand has a real claim to the title "dominion," for it has outlying possessions as do sovereign states. A number of island groups have been attached to the Dominion. Notable among them are the Cook Islands, whose inhabitants speak a language closely related to that of the Maoris. After the Dominion's entry into the World War, New Zealand forces captured the German islands in the Samoan group, and they are now under its control.¹

New Zealand, which has been called the "most purely British in blood of all the colonies," has a population of a million and a quarter. As one of the most distant of Britain's dominions, with a marked tendency toward advanced social legislation and a fresh outlook on imperial politics and organization, the progress of this "Britain of the South" cannot fail to attract increasing attention and respect.

¹ For New Zealand's part in the World War, as well as recent political developments, see pp. 451 ff., 457 ff.

AUSTRALIAN SELF-GOVERNMENT

As we turn to the consideration of the recent growth of Australia, it will be well briefly to recall the changes that took place in the sixty years between Captain Phillip's expedition to Sydney with a convoy of convict ships in 1788 and the discovery of gold sixty years later.¹ New South Wales served as the nucleus for growth. The island of Tasmania was burdened with convicts to its retardation until the colony demanded the privilege of a dignified and self-respecting existence. Even before the mid-century was reached, the colony of Victoria, centering at Melbourne, chafed under its connection with New South Wales. The farcical election of Lord Grey, the Colonial Secretary in England, as Victoria's representative in the Legislative Council at Sydney, was the spectacular manner in which the demand for separation was expressed. In the meantime settlements were started in what are now Queensland, South Australia, and Western Australia.

Yet the growth of these colonies, later to form the states of the Australian Commonwealth, was unequal. The excellent grazing-lands and later the discovery of gold in New South Wales and in Victoria meant rapid growth. Western Australia, which had been occupied as early as 1829, did not prosper, owing to the lack of cheap labor and the tendency toward the ownership of very large estates. In 1849 the inhabitants had requested the use of convicts at a time when the other colonies on the continent were ridding themselves of the evils of transportation. South Australia had been started a few years after Western Australia on the program of the Wakefield system. Here growth was rapid, and, after some initial failures, the district about Adelaide grew into a prosperous colony under the guidance of Sir George Grey. Queensland remained a part of New South Wales after the other colonies became distinct.

The Act for the Government of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, passed in 1842, introduced a measure of self-

¹ See chapter xv.

government; the next step was the passage of the Australian Colonies Government Act in 1850. This statute made Port Phillip a separate colony under the name of Victoria. A Legislative Council, two thirds elective, was granted Victoria, and the same machinery for local government was set up in Western Australia, South Australia, and Tasmania, as well as in the mother colony. The most remarkable provisions of this statute, with which the new epoch in Australia was inaugurated, were those enabling the colonies to fix the franchise according to their wishes, to impose customs duties as seemed fit, and to make such constitutions as they should desire. With these wide privileges came the era in which Australia has worked out its own needs and has met the various crises that have arisen as seemed wise to those who knew the situation from first-hand knowledge.

New South Wales took the first step toward making a new constitution. In 1852 a committee was appointed which drew up a constitution based on the one in operation in England. There were two houses in the legislature. The upper house, or Legislative Council, was composed of nominees of the Governor, acting on the advice of his ministers, and the lower house, or Legislative Assembly, was entirely elected by the vote of those who had a slight property qualification. The Cabinet was made responsible to the lower house. Parliaments were not to last longer than five years and to be summoned annually.

The colony of Victoria appointed its committee in 1853. Its constitution, proclaimed in 1855, differed from that of New South Wales in having the upper house elected. Its members were chosen for ten years, and the choice was restricted to those owning property of the value of £5000 or with an annual income of one tenth that sum. The franchise was based on a higher property qualification than that in New South Wales — £1000 instead of £100 as in the older colony. The year 1855 also brought into being the constitutions of South Australia and Tasmania. South Australia had the most democratic government of the four. There the franchise was granted to those over thirty who had been residents

for three years, and the life of its parliaments was limited to three years. Queensland, formed into a separate colony in 1859, was provided with a government similar to that of New South Wales, where the members of the upper house were appointed.

Western Australia was very slow in attaining a position that can be compared to that of the other colonies on the continent. The introduction of the convict system there, just at the time the other colonies were discarding it, led to the proposal of a boycott against the west coast. Western Australia finally abolished the transportation system in 1868, but it was not until 1890 that self-government was granted and this colony put on an equality with its neighbors.

THE EXPLORATION OF THE INTERIOR

Thus far we have been concerned with the story of the coastal districts, where a few important communities had served as centers for later self-governing colonies. The general outline of the continent was determined early in the century. The work of Flinders, Bass, George Grey, and many others revealed the character of the Australian coast. But the interior was not well known, even by the middle of the nineteenth century. Blaxland opened the Bathurst Plains to settlement as early as 1813, but otherwise interior exploration was largely confined to the great river system that reaches the sea near Adelaide.

The exploration of the vast interior was a later and distinct task, involving the work of a large number of daring explorers. It was no slight achievement to make known the interior of the continent, for Australia is about the size of the United States. From Adelaide it is over one thousand miles to the Gulf of Carpentaria, while Brisbane is twice as far from Perth. The object before the men who figured in the work of exploration during the forties and fifties was to ascertain the nature of the central part of the continent and to discover practicable routes across the trackless wilderness, northward from Adelaide and Victoria and westward from Brisbane and Sydney.¹

¹ See the map of Australia on p. 237.

Edward John Eyre did much to spur others on to the great work. Although he had visited Lake Torrens in 1839, he was not satisfied with this exploit; it was his wish to raise in the center of the continent a Union Jack which had been worked for him by his female admirers at Adelaide. The attempt was made in 1840, but salty swamps barred his way and he turned to the west, reaching Albany twelve months after leaving Adelaide, having endured almost unexampled privations. The explorer, Captain Charles Sturt, who had investigated the Murray River basin in earlier days, also sought the center of the continent by starting from South Australia. In 1844 his well-organized expedition traveled northward. Although he avoided the salt swamps that obstructed Eyre, he was turned back before reaching the center of the continent, after wandering for more than thirteen months in the interminable "gloomy and burning deserts."

During this same period expeditions were sent out from New South Wales to the northwest. Sir Thomas Mitchell, the surveyor-General of the colony, revealed in 1844 the character of the country back of the Darling Downs. A Prussian, Ludwig Leichhardt by name, came to Australia in 1842, deeply interested in scientific work. He brought introductions to Sir Thomas Mitchell, and the latter agreed to take Leichhardt with him on a projected journey to the northern Gulf. As a delay occurred, the eager German scientist organized an expedition of his own in 1844. Success crowned his efforts, for he was able to traverse the country to the south of the Gulf of Carpentaria and to reach a British naval station in Van Diemen's Gulf. On his return to Brisbane he was enthusiastically received. A second expedition was conducted in 1845, and a third was fitted out in 1848 by which Leichhardt hoped to cross the continent through its center from west to east. In this expedition, however, he perished, for nothing was ever heard of the ill-fated explorer after he penetrated the central regions.

At the end of the fifties there was a proposal to connect Australia with England by cable. The South Australians were desirous that its southern terminus as it traversed the

continent should be Adelaide. Accordingly South Australia offered two thousand pounds to the first man who would cross the continent from south to north. The explorer who took up the gage was John McDouall Stuart. He had been in Sturt's expedition and had proved his ability and courage in later journeys. In 1860 he reached the center of the continent by a route leading directly north from Adelaide. He found fertile land north of the Torrens basin, but he was compelled to turn back on account of illness, lack of provisions, and attacks by the aborigines. A second attempt in 1861 was fruitless, but in a third trial in 1862 he was successful. Stuart came out upon the north coast of Australia not far to the east of Port Darwin. It was a very important expedition, for it made possible an overland telegraph line and gave South Australia a claim to the Northern Territory.

There were many other workmen interested in this romantic, if trying, labor of discovery, and much remained to be done after Stuart's transcontinental journey. Western Australia and the country to the west of the Torrens basin were made known in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The great gold-fields at Coolgardie and Kalgoorlie — now producing more than the mines of Victoria — were found in 1892 and 1893. By the efforts of these explorers and others, whose names cannot be included in this short treatment, the country became known. Tracks were later to become roads, and even railroads were traced through much that was barren waste. Yet many promising districts were found and links formed that bound the great colonies on their interior lines.

The disposal of the Northern Territory was in question for some time. The home Government did not wish to take the responsibility for a new colony in that tropical region. Queensland would have liked to control it, but in the sixties it was as yet too weak to bear the burden of its government. Squatters were coming into the region, and it was necessary that order be preserved. On the return of McDouall Stuart in 1862, South Australians learned that the country was valuable. Stuart was convinced also that a telegraph line could be laid along his route. Thereupon South Australia asked

for and received control of the Northern Territory in 1863. In 1869 Darwin, or Palmerston as it was then called, was surveyed. In 1872 the overland telegraph line from Darwin, where it connected with the English cable, was constructed to Adelaide. It was a tremendous task, for the telegraph line was 1973 miles long. After the federation of the Australian colonies the Northern Territory became a dependency of the Commonwealth. Another great link binding the Australian colonies more closely together was the construction of an overland telegraph line along Eyre's route from Adelaide to Albany in 1877.

THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY

After the constitutions were formed in 1855, and during the period when great material advances were being made and the continent was becoming known, the various colonies were working out their problems, each in its own way. With the federation of the colonies into a Commonwealth in 1900, the work went on as a unit. And yet, in the period from 1855 to 1900, the attitude of the different colonies to their common difficulties was not dissimilar. There was much interchange of population, which was greatly assisted by the mining discoveries made in the various colonies at different times. Their very isolation from the rest of the world tended to bring them together in spirit before federation was accomplished in fact. In the working-out of the new governments the greatest difficulty was found in the relations of the lower to the upper houses. As already indicated, the members of the upper house were appointed in New South Wales and Queensland. As there was no limit to the membership of the upper houses of these colonies, the addition of members at the dictation of the ministry could override opposition.

The situation was not solved so easily in the colonies where the Legislative Council was elected. The most memorable illustration of difficulty occurred in Victoria, where the council members were chosen for a ten-year term on a high property qualification. The issue was the question of protection, which the McCulloch Ministry advocated in 1865,

largely as the result of the agitation of David Syme and Graham Berry. Failing to obtain the assent of the Legislative Council, McCulloch added the tariff legislation as a "rider" to the annual budget. The Council proceeded to reject the budget. Finally, after the tariff had gone to the Council for the fourth time, a spirit of concession brought agreement.

Another crisis came in the same colony in 1877 over the payment of members of Parliament. Graham Berry included the measure in the annual budget, which was rejected by the Council. Thereupon the Prime Minister determined to bring the Council to terms by dismissing important public servants from office on the ground of reduced funds. January 8, 1878, known as "Black Wednesday," was the day when this was done. So upset was the financial situation that the Council was forced to come to terms. Similar difficulties had occurred elsewhere and led the framers of the Commonwealth constitution to take care that no such deadlock could occur in the federal legislature. A solution has been provided by making the Councils more amenable to popular influences and "somewhat more representative of human beings than of sheep."

One cause for the bitter conflicts between the two houses has been the radical legislative tendencies of the Assemblies which the more conservative have tried to block through the control of the Councils. In social and industrial matters the Australian colonies developed in a pronouncedly advanced way along a course similar to that of their near neighbor, New Zealand. As we have already considered in some detail New Zealand growth in this respect, it is unnecessary to go into full particulars regarding Australia.

Woman suffrage appeared in Australia shortly after its introduction into New Zealand in 1893. South Australia followed in 1894, and by 1909 it was the law in all the colonies. Since 1902 federal elections have been by adult suffrage. Voting by ballot was adopted by Victoria shortly after the new constitution went into effect in 1855. The other colonies soon followed, and it was not long before it spread across

the seas. England adopted the "Victorian" ballot in 1872; in the United States the "Australian" ballot, as it is generally called, was used for the first time in 1889 in the State of Massachusetts. Compulsory preferential voting is now in force in several of the states of the Commonwealth.¹

The distribution of the land has been the subject of much legislation. Large estates were created in Australia as well as in New Zealand. Sheep-raising tended to aggravate the evil. Much ill feeling was aroused when the leased land of the sheep-raisers was allowed to be taken by farmers if they would "improve" their holdings. Large tracts were broken up in later years by methods of compulsory sale — save in South Australia and Western Australia — by which "closer settlement" became possible. New Zealand's treatment of the situation is typical of that of Australia as well. Coöperative communities, village settlements, and labor colonies are provided for by several of the states.

Labor legislation has been of an advanced character, parallel to that already noted in New Zealand. In the same year that New Zealand introduced its arbitration system, similar legislation was enacted in New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia, and it has since been extended to the whole Commonwealth.

A characteristic development has been the attitude toward immigration. In a new country capable of sustaining a much greater population than it yet possesses, this always takes a place of great prominence. Immigration has been assisted from the earliest days. On the other hand, care has been taken to keep out those regarded as undesirable. We have already seen the attitude taken toward the introduction of convicts. Likewise, in no uncertain tones, Australia has decided against the advent of colored races, especially the Chinese and Japanese. "Australia for the Australians," that is, a "white Australia," has been the slogan.

In the days when gold was drawing the people in such

¹ The novelty of the procedure consists in the requirement that the voter indicate his preference for every candidate listed. If a majority is not reached, the lowest candidate is omitted and the second choices are considered until a majority is reached.

numbers to the mines, the influx of Chinese laborers aroused anxiety. Victoria imposed a ten-pound poll tax in 1855 and forbade a ship to carry more than one Chinese passenger for every ten tons of the vessel's tonnage. By 1888 feeling against the Chinese had become so strong that it was determined to exclude Orientals altogether. At present a high poll tax is in force, and the law for the prohibition of undesirable immigrants is so framed as automatically to exclude those who are not Europeans or white Americans. Persons may be kept out who fail to pass a dictation test, that is, who cannot write out fifty words of a language dictated by the immigration inspector. As the language dictated is a European one, it is easy to bar Orientals and any others that are not wanted. The dictation test is not usually imposed on those of European race; its purpose is the exclusion of the non-desirables. So effective has been the policy of Australia toward the colored races that there were but eleven non-Europeans in Australia to every thousand of the population, according to the census of 1911.

THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA

The discussion of Australian growth since 1855 has necessitated reference to the Commonwealth. The union of the seven communities into one government in 1900 is the most notable event in the expansion of the white man's power on the continent.

The Act of 1850 had originally made provision for a federation of the colonies, if it should seem wise, but it was only with the lapse of time that the feeling for union became strong. The growing tension over colonial possessions that appeared about 1885 led to much apprehension in Australia. The occupation of northern New Guinea by Germany was a cause for intense dissatisfaction in the southern continent, where the desire to control the adjoining Pacific islands was already strong.

In 1880 a conference of representatives of all of the self-governing colonies was held at Melbourne; another meeting took place three years later. Henry Parkes, the New South

Wales statesman — the greatest promoter of the federation movement — had suggested the formation of a Federal Council. The scheme was adopted in 1883 and authorized by Act of the Imperial Parliament in 1885. This Council possessed very limited powers, and neither New South Wales nor New Zealand saw fit to authorize the sending of representatives. Nevertheless, it held meetings every two years, and, although there was no coercive power back of its enactments, the Federal Council undoubtedly helped to call attention to the need for unified action.

In 1889 Henry Parkes reopened the question of federation by urging a conference of ministers of the various colonies to prepare a constitution. The Conference met in 1890, and out of its work grew the Federal Convention at Sydney in 1891. This organization, composed of representatives chosen by the parliaments of each of the colonies, including New Zealand, prepared a draft constitution which became the basis of the later federal organization. If accepted by three of the colonies, it was to be passed by the Imperial Parliament and to become law. Unfortunately, New South Wales again balked, with the result that action by the other colonies was deemed useless. Parkes, who died in 1895, seemed to have failed. On the contrary, popular feeling began to express itself in the nineties for the federation that Parkes had so much desired. Leagues were formed, in which the idea was fostered that a convention elected by the people should be chosen to make a constitution that should be submitted directly to the people for their approval. As the end of the century approached the movement became more and more powerful. In 1897-98 members were chosen by the people, except in the case of Western Australia, for a convention that was to draft a new constitution.

During 1897 and 1898 three sessions were held. Although the draft of 1891 was made the basis of discussion, many stumbling-blocks were encountered. The large states feared the power granted to the weaker members in a senate where each state was on an equality, and were unwilling to contribute in customs receipts what seemed more than their

share to the Commonwealth expenses. On the latter question a compromise was reached in the third session by the agreement that uniform customs were not to be inaugurated until two years after the constitution was in effect, and even then a proportional amount was to be returned to each state above the amount needed for Commonwealth expenses. The common expenditure from customs duties was also limited. By these measures the Federation Bill was made acceptable to the Convention in 1898.

It was then necessary to submit the document to the people. In Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania it received the required vote. But Queensland and Western Australia did not vote, and New South Wales did not give the constitution the required minimum number of votes needed for its acceptance. It seemed useless to go further unless some means could be found to bring the lagging states into line. A conference of Premiers, this time including Queensland, was held at Melbourne in 1899, when changes were made in the constitution which it was hoped would lead to its acceptance. The customs compromise was to continue but ten years, and New South Wales was placated by an understanding that the federal capital should be located somewhere in the mother colony, not less than one hundred miles from Sydney. A second referendum was then taken and all the colonies gave the needed majorities. Western Australia abstained from a referendum at the time, but joined the Commonwealth after the constitution was authorized by the Imperial Parliament.

After full consideration by the home Government and after some slight changes regarding the right of appeal to the Privy Council, the Constitution Bill received the royal assent in July, 1900. The Commonwealth of Australia came into being on January 1, 1901. When Joseph Chamberlain introduced the bill he spoke of the measure as "marking an era in the history of Australia and a great and important step toward the organization of the British Empire." It is remarkable that these states should have organized into one group, when we recall that no foreign war drew them to

gether. Nor was there any undue interference with their local privileges, such as had fostered the union of the American colonies in the eighteenth century. No menace of possible internal strife need have caused them worry. Nor was it owing to pressure from imperial sources that the federation feeling produced concrete action.

The Commonwealth Constitution was altogether of local construction, elaborated by Australian statesmen who were guided by British traditions, but who independently gathered suggestions from various sources. The resemblance between the Constitution of the United States and that of Australia is striking. In the Commonwealth Government the legislative bodies are two in number, a Senate and a House of Representatives. As in the United States, the Senate is composed of equal numbers of senators from each state — six in Australia — who are chosen by direct election. The lower house is representative of population as in the United States.¹ There is, however, one great difference between the Australian and American Constitutions, in that the Australian combines representative with responsible government. The Executive consists of a Cabinet whose members belong to the House of Representatives and who are subject to question and control by that assembly.

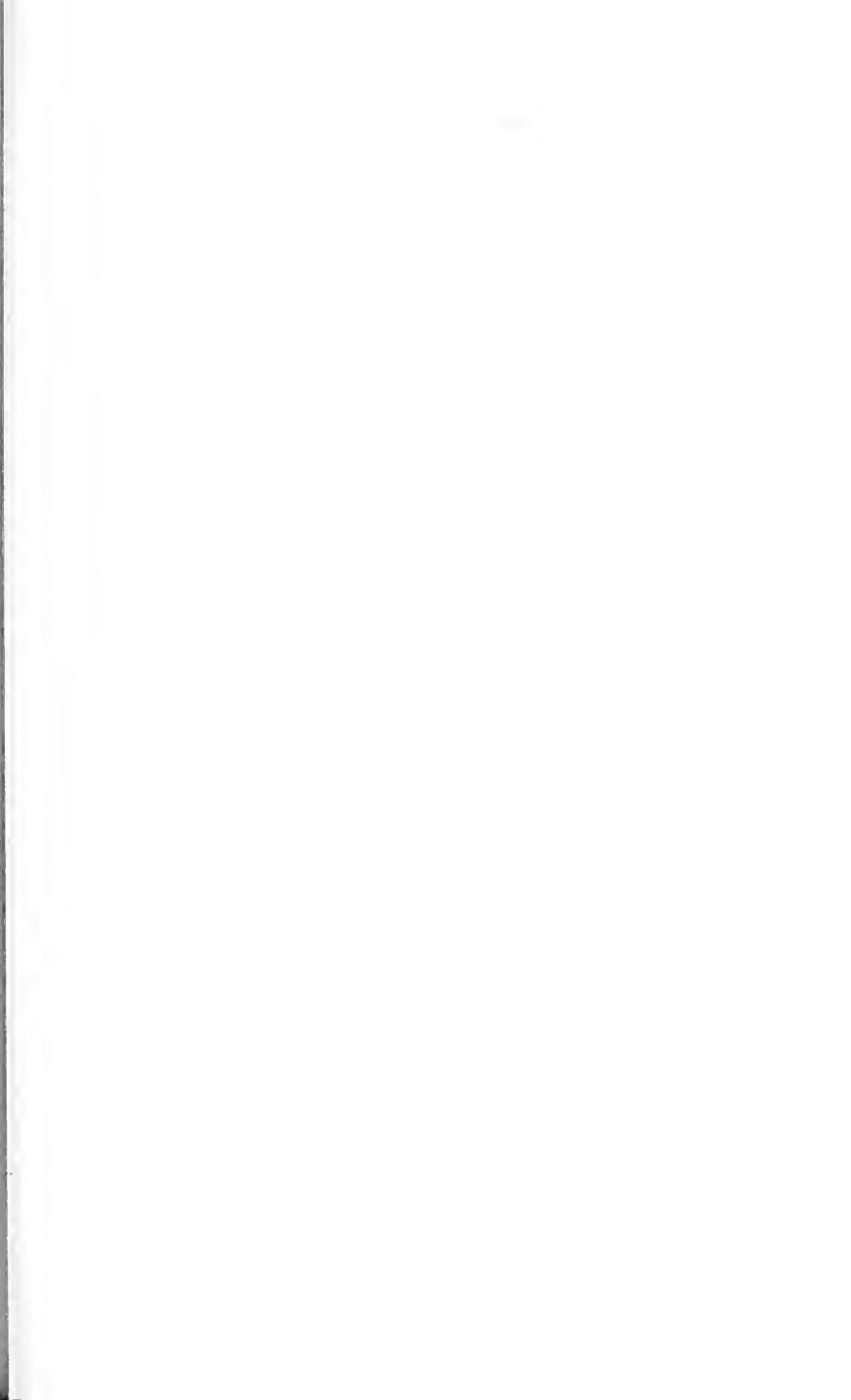
In the working of the Australian Constitution there is no danger of a deadlock between the executive and the legislative departments, as in the United States. Experience had taught the possibility of a deadlock between the upper and the lower house. To prevent a situation such as occurred in Victoria in 1865 and again in 1877, there is a provision by which a majority vote in a joint meeting of the two houses shall decide on a measure thrice rejected by the Senate. The interpretation of the Constitution and the settling of vexed questions between states and on federal matters was given to the High Court, corresponding to the United States Supreme Court.

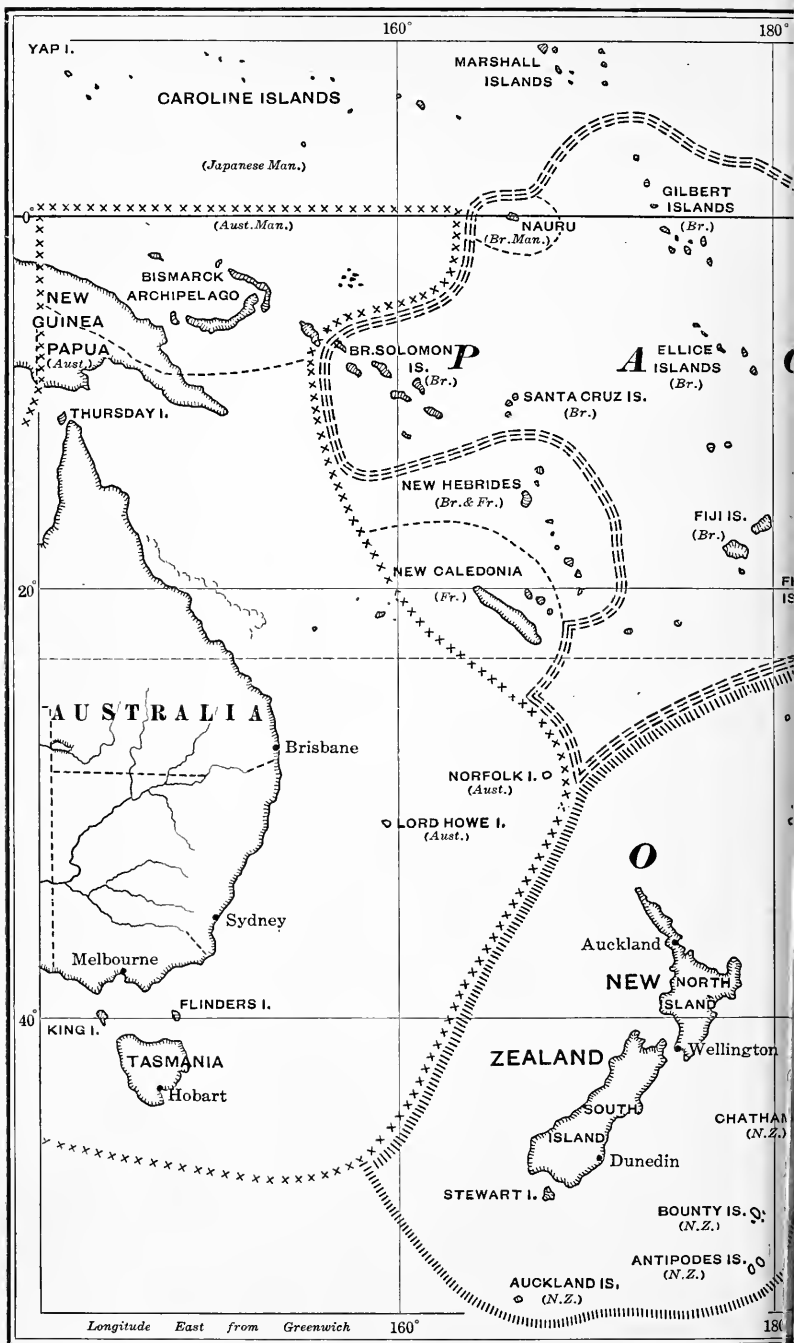
¹ The relative size of the states is indicated by their proportion of members in the House of Representatives. As a result of the census of 1911 New South Wales obtained 27 members, Victoria 21, Queensland 10, South Australia 7, Western Australia 5, and Tasmania 5.

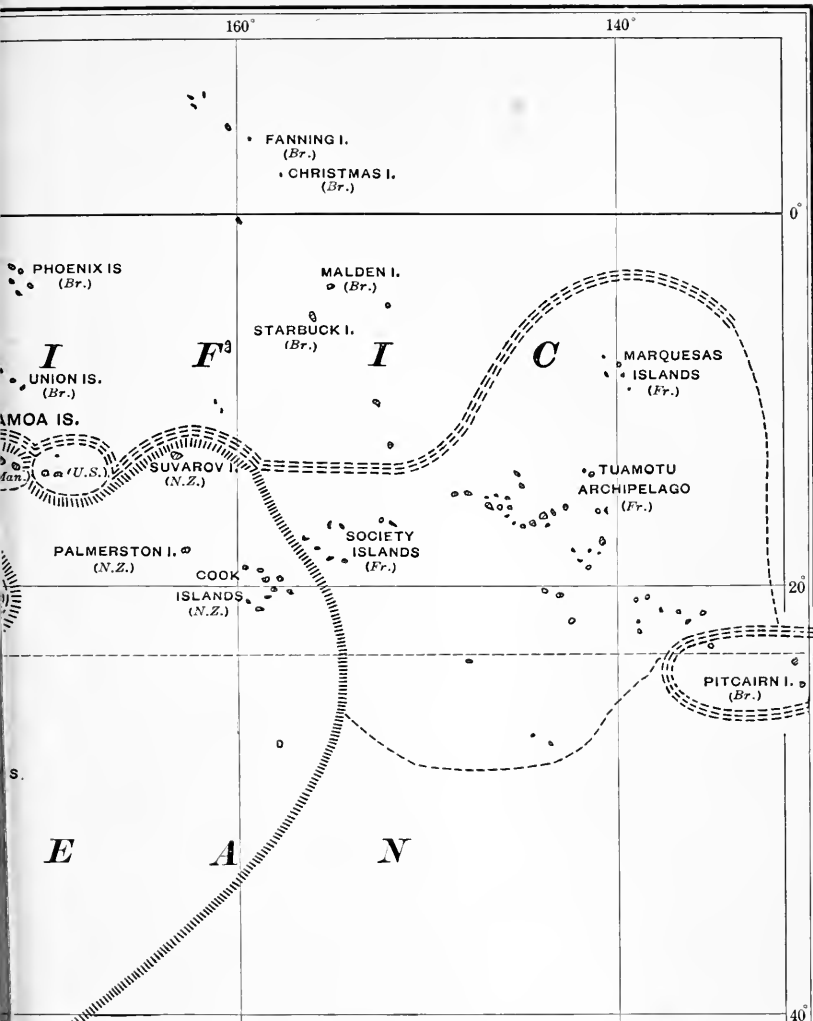
The federal capital was not to be less than one hundred miles from Sydney. It was only after several years of wordy discussion that nine hundred square miles of territory southwest of Sydney in the Canberra district were ceded to the Federal Government. The initial ceremony for preparing the district as the seat of the central Government took place in 1913, at which time "Canberra" was decided on as the name of the capital city.

Since 1900 the states have been working out their common problems by means of the familiar party system. At the beginning of the Commonwealth there were three groups, the protectionists led by Barton, the free-traders under G. H. Reid, and the labor representatives led by J. C. Watson. From the first the Labor Party held the balance of power, as neither of the others was able to stay in office without its assistance. In 1904 a labor government took the lead for a short time. By 1908 it had attained great strength, and since that time, first under the lead of Andrew Fisher and later of William Morris Hughes, it has controlled Australian affairs during the period before and including the time of the World War.

The Commonwealth has developed notably from the days of its founding, one hundred years ago. A great continent as large as the United States has been brought under one government. Unlimited resources have been revealed in this English-speaking dominion in the southern hemisphere. The particular interest it has for the student of the British Empire is the opportunity Australia affords for the development of British institutions under the guidance of men willing to try the untried in the field of land, labor, and industrial legislation. At the opening of the World War the population of Australia was over five million. Of this total four fifths were natives of the continent, and but four per cent were of other than British stock. There were but twenty thousand aborigines at that time in addition to the fifty thousand non-Europeans. It is veritably a white man's country.







SOUTHWESTERN PACIFIC

LEGEND

Sphere of influence of British Colonial Office	=====
" " " " Australia	xxxxxxx
" " " " New Zealand	
(Man.) Mandate (formerly German)	





THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

Besides Australia and New Zealand the British Empire includes numerous island groups in the southern Pacific. As they bear a rather intimate relationship to the dominions we have been studying, it is necessary to bring them into our view before leaving the southern hemisphere for the study of Canada and Newfoundland.

One of the most important groups from the British point of view is the Fiji Islands, located about one thousand miles directly north of New Zealand. Early in the nineteenth century these islands were the haunts of traders and runaways. The London Missionary Society had its representatives in the Fiji Islands and other neighboring groups as well as in South Africa. One method of proselyting was to take the native boys of the island on trips, to learn their language and in turn to teach them English. Sometimes they were even taken to school to Auckland or elsewhere for a time. Then the converted natives would be returned to spread the new religion and civilization they had acquired. The famous missionary bishops, Selwyn and Patteson, employed this method.

This proceeding was soon parodied by unscrupulous men interested in cheap labor for the Queensland sugar and cotton plantations. These men-merchants were harsh and the natives not unnaturally resisted measures that led to practical slavery. It was to be expected, also, that reprisals on the part of the natives would result from this kidnapping of dark-skinned laborers, or "blackbirding" as it was called. The natives, in their reprisals, could not or would not discriminate between missionary philanthropists and the stealers of men. The murder of Bishop Patteson by the natives of the Santa Cruz group in 1871 revealed a situation that needed attention. Great Britain took action to restrain the labor trade and to keep order among the natives by supervising these islands through a High Commissioner for the Western Pacific. His residence was placed in the Fiji Islands, which were annexed to the Empire in 1874.

After 1874 the international rivalry of Great Britain, France, and Germany led to further additions to the British Empire, as well as to those of its rivals. New Zealand and Australia particularly resented the intrusion of non-British influences in the southern Pacific. The French, nevertheless, became interested in the New Hebrides and New Caledonia, which lie between Fiji and Queensland. Their proximity to the Australian mainland was a nuisance after the French had made New Caledonia a penal colony, since criminals in escaping found Queensland a convenient home. Finally an agreement was reached between France and Great Britain; the French control of New Caledonia was recognized, but it was not to be the prison-house of criminals. The New Hebrides have been jointly supervised by the commissioners of the two countries, an arrangement that has caused much dissatisfaction.

Germany awoke in the eighties to the need for a colonial empire. In the southern Pacific it was interested in New Guinea, in the Melanesian islands to the north, and in Samoa, northeast of Fiji. Queensland, however, coveted New Guinea, and annexed it on its own responsibility in 1883. Notwithstanding, the home Government in London hesitated on the question of the ownership of the island until Germany had taken possession of the northeastern part of it in 1884. The exasperated Australians were able to bring about the "protection" of southeastern New Guinea only after Germany had taken what it wanted. In 1889 the administration of the British part of New Guinea, known as Papua, was entrusted to Queensland. After the Commonwealth came into being, Papua became a subject-territory of the new Australian federation by virtue of the Papua Act of 1905.

Other groups besides the Fiji Islands became British in these years, in order to keep control of the lines binding the Empire together. When the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed in 1885, mail service was established between Canada and Australasia, and many islands grew in importance thereby. In this connection Fanning Island should be

mentioned. It lies in a central position in the southern Pacific, and is a landing-place of the all-British cable from Australasia to Vancouver. In 1889 the Cook Islands were annexed to New Zealand, and that Dominion also received the administration of several other groups, which are comparatively unimportant.

The Tonga or Friendly Islands became a protectorate of Great Britain in 1900. During the nineties Great Britain took possession of the Solomon, Gilbert, and Ellice Islands. The British Solomon Islands (to be distinguished from the German Solomon Islands administered under a mandate by the Commonwealth of Australia) are a protectorate. The Gilbert and Ellice groups, proclaimed protectorates in 1892, were annexed in 1915. The jurisdiction of the High Commissioner of the Western Pacific extends over these islands as well as other groups not within the jurisdiction of a civilized power. The High Commissioner, who is stationed in the Fiji Islands, rules that group, not by virtue of his appointment as High Commissioner, but as Governor.

Australia and New Zealand have persistently expressed the opinion that Great Britain should adopt a "forward policy" in the organization of the Pacific, by allowing these two great self-governing Dominions to become stewards of the empire for the numerous scattered groups in the South Pacific. A step in that direction was taken when the German islands were placed under these Dominions as mandatories. The present distribution of the islands we have been studying among New Zealand, Australia, and the Colonial Office in London does not seem the most rational arrangement. The abolition of the High Commission of the Western Pacific and the transfer of the various groups to the near-by Australasian Dominions would simplify a complicated situation.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Little need be added to the Bibliographical Note for chapter xv. Both New Zealand and Australia publish elaborate *Official Year Books* (the former at Wellington and the latter at Melbourne). A good treatment of recent New Zealand history and conditions is that of G. H. Scholefield, *New Zealand in Evolution, Industrial, Economic, Political* (London, 1916).

In addition to J. D. Rogers's *Australasia*, the Pacific islands are considered in A. Wyatt Tilby's *Australasia*, by C. Brunsdon Fletcher in *The Problems of the Pacific* (London, 1919), and in G. H. Scholefield's *The Pacific, Its Past and Future* (London, 1919). In the *King's College Lectures on Colonial Problems* a former High Commissioner of the Western Pacific, Sir Everard im Thurn, has a lecture on "Native Land and Labour in the South Seas." For the Constitution and a treatment of its political characteristics see Egerton's *Federations and Unions in the British Empire*. Missionary enterprise in the South Seas has called many remarkable workers. Among the more prominent missionaries may be mentioned Bishop Selwyn, Bishop John C. Patteson, James Calvert, William Ellis, John William Paton, John G. Paton, and James Chalmers.

CHAPTER XXIII

BRITISH NORTH AMERICA — CANADA AND NEWFOUNDLAND

SURVEY of recent Canadian growth has been reserved to the last for several reasons. Canada was the first of the dominions to attain self-government. Born on July 1, 1867, it has served as a model and an inspiration to the younger members of the Empire. As the most mature of the sister dominions Canada is both a record and a prophecy. It holds a strategic position in another way as well, for its geographical location makes Canada an important link by which the specific interests of Great Britain are connected with the new country. In addition, the Dominion has a common unfortified boundary four thousand miles long with the nearest English-speaking nation outside the Empire. The reciprocal influences operating between Canada and the Empire on the one side and the United States on the other are fruitful for the future of the human race and the place of English-speaking ideals in its uplift and control.

CANADIAN CONFEDERATION

The British North America Act went into effect July 1, 1867. It provided for a federal union or partnership of four provinces, Upper and Lower Canada — renamed Ontario and Quebec respectively — and Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The Act was so framed as to make possible the later admission of Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, British Columbia, "Prince Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory," all of which save Newfoundland have since entered the Dominion. The Governor-General, appointed by imperial authorities, represents the King in Canada and safeguards imperial interests. The assent of the Governor-General is necessary to make valid the laws promulgated and passed by the Dominion Senate and House of Commons. The Senate was intended to represent the provinces, and

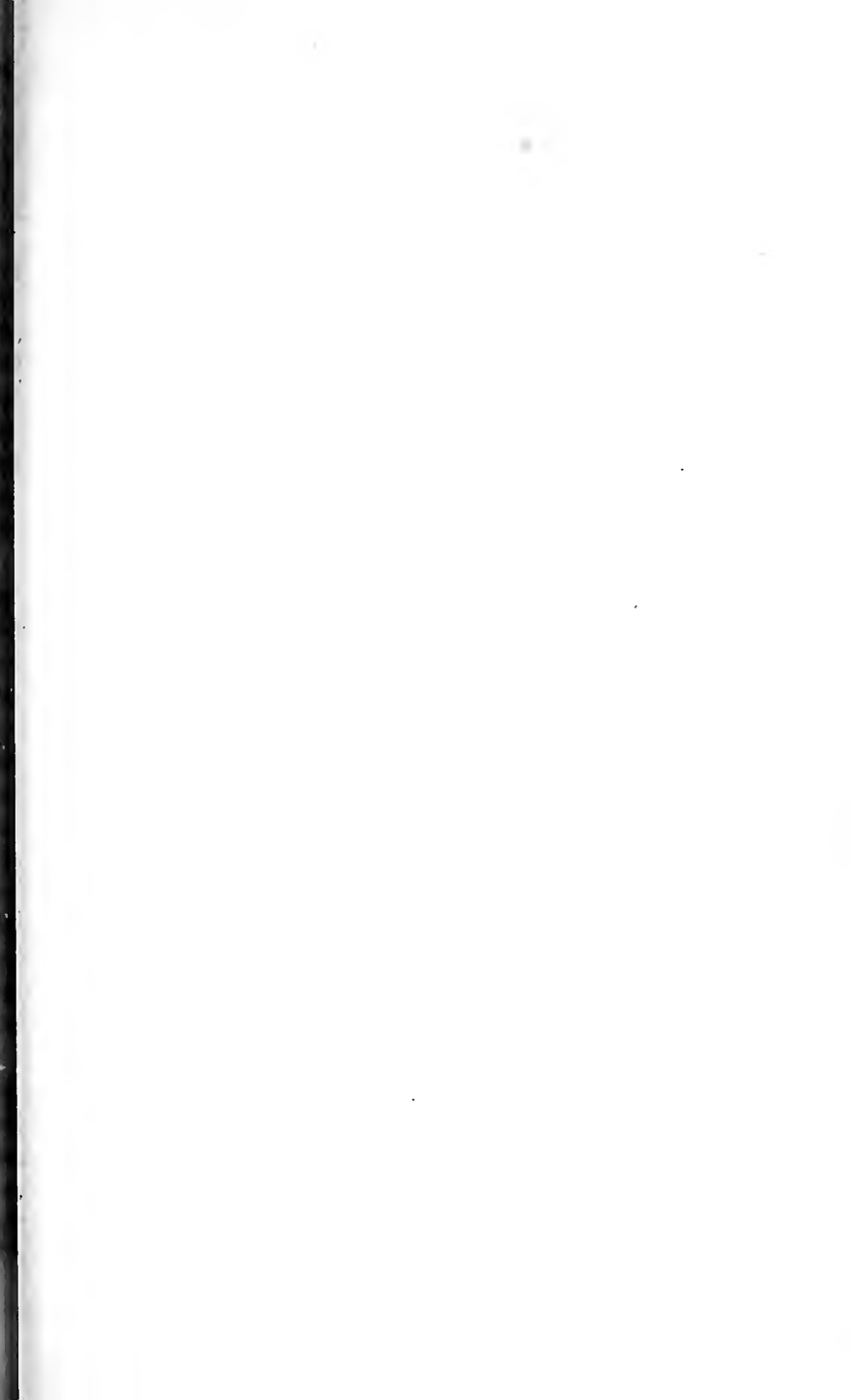
was formed so as to comprise equal numbers from each of the three divisions, Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritime Provinces. As the senators are appointed by the Government the Senate has not exercised the power that was expected of it; it serves in no serious way to impede the work of the House of Commons.¹ The greater power rests with the lower house, in which all money bills must originate. The Executive, nominally the Governor-General representing the King, consists of a Premier and his Cabinet; it is based on the English model and is responsible to the House of Commons. If an adverse vote occurs on a government measure the Premier must resign or appeal to the people by means of a general election. "Thus with a Governor-General, who is much more important socially than politically, and a Senate which does what it is told, Canada is perhaps the most democratic country in the world."²

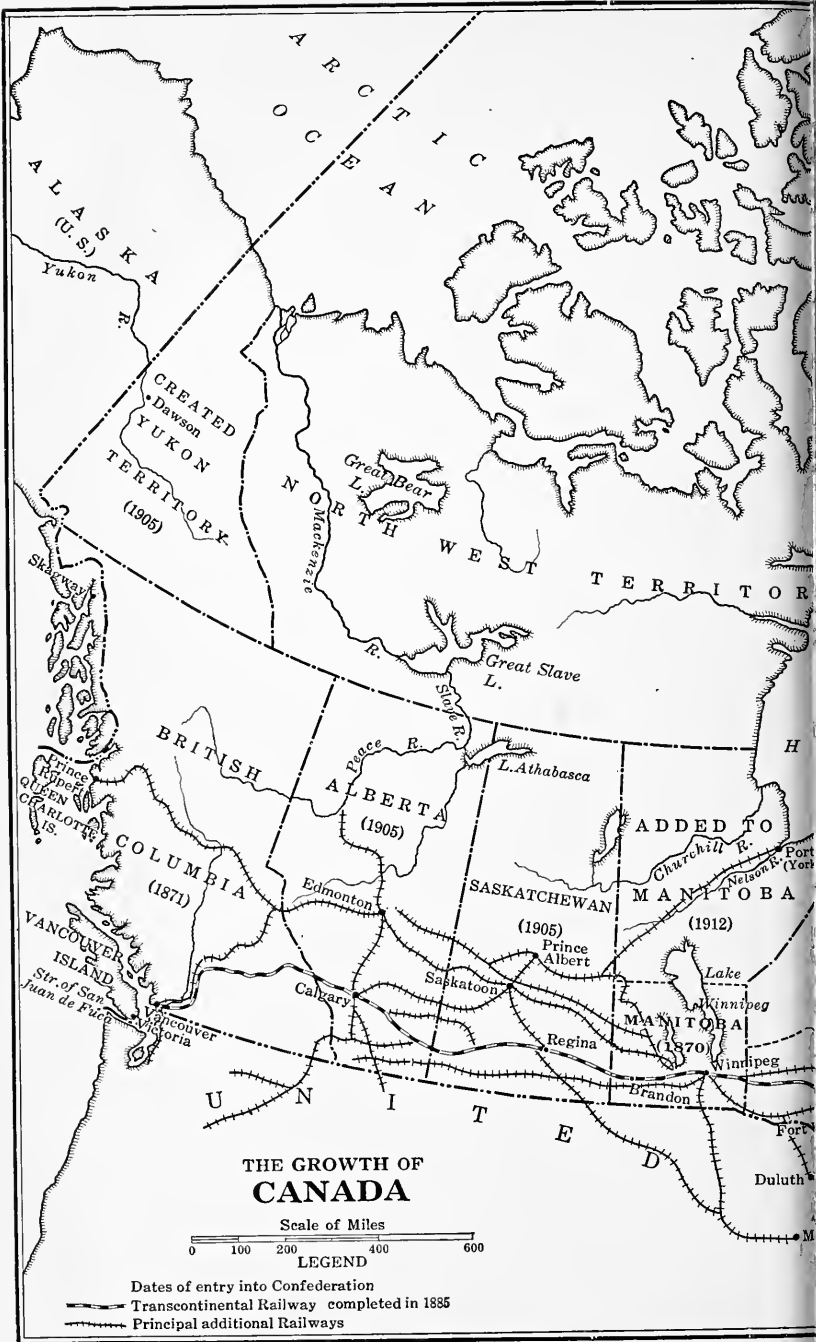
The Dominion is a federal union, differing from the United States to the south in that the provinces are granted certain specified powers and all others are vested in the Dominion Parliament. Twenty-eight classes of subjects are listed in the Act as within the scope of the central Government besides any others not assigned exclusively to the legislatures of the provinces. In general, the division made is between matters of national and of local interest. The provincial governments have control of local self-government, known as the Municipal System, and have charge of other local matters, including taxation and education. The matter of education is probably the chief prerogative left to the provinces. The Act provides that rights held at the time of the union by denominational schools within a province cannot be affected by later legislation.

In each of the provinces there is a Lieutenant-Governor, appointed by the Governor-General on the advice of the Cabinet. The Legislative Assemblies of the various provinces are chosen by the people and the provincial Executive Councils.

¹ There has been occasional difficulty when the majority of the Senate has been opposed to the Government, illustrated by the attitude of the Liberal Senate in the years immediately following Laurier's downfall.

² *The British Empire — Past, Present, and Future*, p. 295.







cils are responsible to the Assemblies in the same way that the Dominion Cabinet is controlled by the House at Ottawa. At present, there is, in addition to the Legislative Assembly, a Legislative Council, or upper house, in Nova Scotia and Quebec.

THE UNIFICATION OF THE DOMINION

With its inauguration the new Dominion faced many problems of a serious character. Even the four provinces that were charter members were widely separated in their interests as a result of inadequate means of communication. In fact, the Act provided for the building "with all practicable speed" of the Intercolonial Railway to connect the St. Lawrence with Halifax. When British Columbia joined the confederation a few years later, a similar condition was imposed "to consolidate the union" of this far-distant province. In 1867 British Columbia was totally isolated, as the vast stretches of the prairie provinces were at that time largely unoccupied. The Hudson's Bay Company controlled this territory, in which the only real settlement was Lord Selkirk's colony on the Red River. In addition, Dominion agriculture and trade were suffering from a discontinuance of the reciprocity arrangements with the United States. Manufacturing had as yet assumed little importance. The Dominion was inaugurated at a particularly unfortunate time, so far as its relations with the United States were concerned. The recent Civil War in the United States had embittered the relations between England and the Republic. Added to these difficulties was the task of bringing about a good understanding and a working agreement between the French of the province of Quebec and the English-speaking peoples of the other provinces.

The first Parliament of the Dominion met in the new buildings in Ottawa in the autumn of 1867. With a few exceptions, the men prominent in bringing the confederation into being were in the first Government. The Prime Minister was John A. Macdonald, and his Cabinet included such well-known men as George E. Cartier, S. L. Tilley, and

A. T. Galt. George Brown, the leader of the "Clear Grits" of pre-Confederation days, had united with Macdonald and Cartier to effect the union, but he returned in 1867 to a vehement opposition of his recent colleagues. Macdonald and Cartier formed an Anglo-French Conservative Party, which was able to control the growth of the Dominion during its critical years; with the exception of the five years from 1873 to 1878, when the Liberals were in office, the Conservatives held the reins of power from the inauguration of the Dominion until 1896.

The policy of the Conservative Party was plainly outlined by the evident needs of the Dominion. The sectionalism of former days needed an antidote in the form of a strong central Government. This, as well as a forceful emphasis on the imperial connection with Great Britain, was dictated by the strained relations that had existed with the United States since the beginning of the sixties, especially as the Republic to the south had just come out of the Civil War and would be a formidable enemy should trouble arise. Industry, commerce, and especially the settlement of sparsely peopled areas were subjects in great want of attention. Probably the most crying need was the binding together of the provinces by telegraphs, railways, and canals. Advocate of all these policies, and "Father" — if any one can be called such — of the Dominion was John A. Macdonald, a remarkably sagacious politician, untiring, courageous, and enthusiastic in his support of imperial interests. He, more than any other, should have credit for the unification and the growing prosperity that came to Canada in the last third of the nineteenth century.

Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were in the Confederation at the time it was organized. At the outset, the former did not prove to be heartily in favor of the union. Halifax felt that its interests were not forwarded by a combination with Canada. Nova Scotians found it easier to think of centering their attention "in London under the dominion of John Bull than in Ottawa under the dominion of Jack Frost." Joseph Howe, the most prominent man of the province, even went

to London to urge the interests of Nova Scotia. It was only after protracted negotiations with the Dominion Government, by which better financial terms were granted to Nova Scotia, that Howe became reconciled to joining the Dominion Ministry in 1869.

Prince Edward Island had held aloof in 1867. Nevertheless, it was inevitable that it should follow its neighbors, as in the case of Rhode Island when the United States was organized under the Constitution, for there was more to be gained by Prince Edward Island if it joined the Dominion than if it remained separated from its sister provinces. Very favorable financial arrangements were offered Prince Edward Island, and in 1873 it became a province of the Dominion.

One of the essentials in order to bring about real unity between the Maritime Provinces and the two Canadas was railway communication. As we have noted, the Act of Union provided for a railway from Halifax to the St. Lawrence. A bill guaranteeing £3,000,000 for the Intercolonial Railway was passed by the Imperial Parliament at the time when the British North America Act received its official form. This was on the demand of New Brunswick. The route, however, proved a difficult one to select. The State of Maine jutted so far up toward the St. Lawrence that the natural route between the Maritime Provinces and the upper St. Lawrence could not be followed. As a route too near the American boundary was not regarded as wise, the course finally selected by Mr. (later, Sir) Sandford Fleming, the government engineer, reached the St. Lawrence by skirting the Bay of Chaleurs. In 1876 this much-needed railway was opened.

Meanwhile, on the western coast of the continent British settlers were forming a colony that was to join the Dominion and to be linked to its sister provinces by another important railway. The Hudson's Bay Company had leased the territory north of the United States boundary and on the Pacific coast for the purposes of trade. It included the mainland of British Columbia as well as the island of Vancouver. There had been little settlement on the mainland until the discov-

ery of gold in the bed of the Fraser River in 1856. In 1858 British Columbia was made a Crown Colony. Two years earlier Vancouver Island received a legislature. For a time the two districts remained separate, since their interests did not coincide (one was a trading city, the other a mining district). As the two colonies grew, they became more convinced that union was desirable; it was in 1866 that Vancouver Island and British Columbia united under the name of British Columbia with Victoria, on Vancouver Island, as the capital.

A step of greater importance was taken when the unified Pacific colonies determined to join the confederation which had been formed far to the east. It is a credit to the far-seeing vision of Canadian statesmen and the colonists on the Pacific coast that this apparently strange proceeding should have seemed feasible. But Sir John A. Macdonald's conceptions could easily span a continent. After considerable delay in British Columbia, partly the result of the attitude of the Governor, resolutions were passed by the legislature in favor of union with the Canadian provinces. After delegates from the Pacific coast had arranged terms at Ottawa with the Dominion Government, British Columbia became part of Canada in 1871. The chief stipulation made by the new province and agreed to by the Dominion was that within two years construction should begin on a railway connecting British Columbia and Canada. Ten years from the date of the admission of British Columbia into the confederation the railway was to be completed.

It was exceedingly important that the long stretches of territory between Ontario and the Rocky Mountains be secured for Canada, if railway connection and future expansion were to be made secure. Between the settled part of Ontario and Fort Garry (Winnipeg) the country was barren and impenetrable; it served as a great barrier to communication. In fact, the prairies were usually entered by way of the United States. In what is now Manitoba and the prairie provinces, the Hudson's Bay Company held sway for about two centuries. Its only competitor had been the North-

Vest Company, which, established about the opening of the American Revolution, had been absorbed by its rival in 1820. Settlements, other than for purposes of the fur-trade, did not exist, save for the solitary exception of Lord Selkirk's colony in the Red River Valley. As we have found,¹ this lone colony was subjected to many discouragements. In fact, the Hudson's Bay Company did not care to have settlers in Prince Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory. The company's servants did not hesitate to declare the worthlessness for grain-raising of a district which has since become notable as one of the world's important granaries.

As Confederation approached, Canadian statesmen became interested in these vast territories. A committee of the Imperial House of Commons investigated the Hudson's Bay Company's affairs in 1857 with a view, among other things, to finding what lands were suitable for settlement in order that they might be ceded to Canada. In 1863 the Company was reorganized and facilities for settlement were provided. At the time the situation was anomalous at the time of the formation of the Dominion. It was felt that Great Britain should exercise a more certain control over these territories, either by establishing a Crown Colony or by uniting Prince Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory with Canada. Added incentive was given by the fear that the United States might acquire the lands in question. In 1867 Russia sold Alaska to the United States; the addition of lands connecting the United States with Alaska would thereafter seem a natural step. In 1865 Macdonald wrote: "If Canada is to remain a country separate from the United States, it is of great importance that they should not get behind us by right or by force and intercept the route to the Pacific."²

The province of Quebec was not keenly interested in Macdonald's plans, for the French half-breeds, or *métis*, as they are called, might suffer with the settlement of the country which they found occupation in serving the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1867 resolutions were introduced in the Dominion House of Commons urging the union

with the new Dominion of the territories under the Hudson Bay Company. The resolutions were sent to England, where negotiations finally culminated in an arrangement satisfactory to Canada. In 1869 the deed of surrender was signed by the Hudson's Bay Company; Canada paid the Company £300,000 and left the trading rights of the territories in the hands of their former owners.

The transfer was not to be made without disturbance. The *métis* did not want annexation, for they feared they might lose their lands. The descendants of Lord Selkirk and Scotch settlers were discontented as well. Of course the Company's employees did not look with favor on the sale of the Hudson's Bay Company's lands to Canada. To make matters worse, the surveyors, who penetrated the Red River country in 1869, seem to have shown want of tact in their work. As a result, the French Canadians rose in rebellion under a leader by the name of Louis Riel and established a provisional government. They aroused the anger of Canada by the murder of Thomas Scott of Ontario. Troops were sent to the seat of trouble in the spring of 1870. Riel promptly fled across the border and the work of annexation proceeded with little further interruption. In 1870 the Red River territory was organized as a province of the Dominion under the name of Manitoba, with the same political machinery as in the other provinces. The prairies between Manitoba and British Columbia were as yet so sparsely settled that they were not formed into the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta until thirty-five years later.

When the Dominion was extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the matter of next importance was the railway joining British Columbia and Ontario. Two companies were eager for the right to construct the proposed line. The Government did not wish American capital to be used, and desired that the work be done by an amalgamated company instead of by two rival concerns. While this question was up, an election took place in 1872, by which Macdonald and his party were returned to power. Shortly afterward it was found by the Prime Minister's enemies that Sir Hugh Al-

of Montreal had made heavy contributions to the Conservative campaign funds. As he was the head of one of the rival companies desiring the government contract, the exposure of the "deal" seriously compromised the Government. Macdonald endeavored to defend himself on the ground that large funds were needed to counteract local patronage. In addition, Sir Hugh Allan was found to be backed to some extent by the tabooed American capital. There was an investigation of the scandal by a Royal Commission. Macdonald dared not face the vote of want of confidence and resigned. He had certainly used unscrupulous tactics, but this episode in his career should not be allowed to detract from the worth of his great services to Canada.

The election resulting from the exposure of Macdonald's financial methods in the campaign of 1872 brought the Liberals under Alexander Mackenzie into power; from 1873 to 1878 this party controlled the policies of the Dominion. The Liberal Party performed much useful service during its short tenure of office. Mackenzie, however, did not prove so bold in his policies as seemed to be needed at this stage of Canadian development. Commercially, Canada did not prosper. The panic of 1873 in the United States seriously affected the Dominion, which had not the powers of recovery possessed by its stronger neighbor to the south. Mackenzie was also slow in granting adequate government aid for the Pacific railway. So discouraged did British Columbia become with the situation that it threatened to secede. The combination of economic depression and a vacillating railway policy led the people to wish for the vigorous leadership of Macdonald, even though he had but recently been rejected by the country. It was not unexpected that the election of 1878 brought Sir John A. Macdonald and his party back into power.

CONSERVATIVE AND LIBERAL

During the few years he was out of office Macdonald had perfected his ideas for Canadian government under the name of the "National Policy." A resolution which he introduced in the House of Commons in 1878 declared that the

"welfare of Canada requires the adoption of a National Policy." By this, Macdonald meant a readjustment of the tariff for the protection of Canadian industries, by which prosperity would be restored and an inter-provincial trade developed. He looked forward to a later reciprocity agreement with the United States. The National Policy included also the grant of bounties for the encouragement of industries. As the term has come to be used in more recent years, it has been extended to include immigration propaganda and all other measures tending to develop the Dominion.

A generous attitude to the perennial railway question was a natural part of this policy. Some work had been done on the Pacific railway as a public work before the Conservatives returned to office, but this expensive procedure was abandoned after the Canadian Pacific Railway Commission reported in 1882. Instead, the task was turned over to a new private company, with whom very liberal terms were made. George Stephen, afterwards Lord Mountstephen, and his cousin, Donald A. Smith, better known as Lord Strathcona, were prominent in the new company. Donald Smith risked every penny of his accumulated savings to insure the success of the enterprise. When the Northern Pacific Railway failed in 1883, conditions looked very serious for the Canadian Pacific. Liberal financial aid, in addition to the original grants, was asked and generously granted by the Dominion Parliament. At last in November, 1885, the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed when Donald Smith drove the last spike at Craigellachie in the Rocky Mountains. In the next year Sir John Macdonald rode to the Pacific over the new road and saw the great task, which he had long held in vision, a completed fact. The only "fly in the ointment" was a rebellion of *métis* in the Saskatchewan district, for reasons not unlike those leading to the rebellion of 1869. Riel again led the insurrection, which was subdued in the summer of 1885, after considerable bloodshed. This time he was captured and hanged in spite of strong efforts of the province of Quebec to prevent his execution.¹

¹ Lord Strathcona is one of Canada's most remarkable men. A Scotchman

In 1891 Sir John A. Macdonald died, shortly after a triumphant political campaign that had brought him to power for the fourth time. The slogan of the campaign had been "The old flag, the old man, and the old policy." Some extremists had talked of annexation to the United States and this had given the sagacious politician his opportunity. The country realized its loss with his death and paid him fitting honor. A rising Liberal leader, Wilfrid Laurier by name, already recognized as a remarkable orator, paid a glowing tribute to the great leader whose life had been permeated with devotion to Canada.

After Macdonald's death the Conservative Party lost the hold that it had retained for eighteen years on the political power of the Dominion. Three Conservative prime ministers held brief office after the great leader's death, but in 1896 the Liberals under Laurier came to power — a position they were to retain until 1911.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier proved a fitting leader of the country in the years chiefly important for the growth of unity and of remarkable expansion in varied fields of activity. This man, who became Premier in 1896, was a French Canadian, born not far north of Montreal in 1841. Although educated as a Catholic, he learned English in the home of a Scotch Presbyterian minister. He gained not only a remarkable control of English and its literature, but also a liberal attitude that admirably served to make the suavity of Laurier a means of more intimately uniting the diverse racial interests of the Dominion. As an orator he has had few equals in Canada, whether in French or in English. At the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria in 1897, there was no more notable representative of the oversea possessions than Sir Wilfrid Laurier. The ideas of the Liberals under his leadership proved to be little different from the "National Policy" of Macdonald.

Like Macdonald, he early went into the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. For thirteen years he was a factor in the wilds of Labrador, but by the time of Confederation he had become a chief member of the Company. When Riel's rebellion occurred in 1869, he was one of the men sent to negotiate and bring peace. He lived to an advanced and honored old age, dying in 1914, after long service in London as High Commissioner of Canada.

As a matter of fact, the Liberals were accused of catching the Conservatives in bathing and stealing their clothes. Protection was continued for native industry. Greater and greater preference was accorded to Great Britain by the Laurier Government in the matter of trade, until it received a thirty-three and one third per cent preference over foreign countries in customs duties. The imperial connection was strengthened in various other ways as well.

The downfall of the Liberals came in 1911 over the matter of reciprocity with the United States. Before the death of Macdonald there had been advocates of a customs union with the Republic. Many had felt, on the contrary, that a union of this sort might be but a step toward political annexation. Reciprocity was urged in the campaign of 1891, and, as we have already noted, it gave the Conservative leader a telling slogan. Macdonald had the gifts of a politician, but there was much of sincerity in his words at the time of that campaign: "A British subject I was born, a British subject I will die. With my utmost effort, with my latest breath, will oppose the veiled treason which attempts, by sordid means and mercenary proffers, to lure our people from their allegiance."

Under Laurier's leadership the Liberals sought to draw closer to the United States. In 1911 definite negotiations were carried on with Washington. An agreement was arrived at which, it was thought, would aid Canada by giving its raw materials a larger market and by providing great resources of capital for internal development. The American Congress passed the reciprocity agreement. The opponents of the measure in Canada, however, found an opportunity to attack it as a result of references to annexation made by Mr. Champ Clark in Congress—references that certainly did not represent the feeling of the people of the United States. The same fear again became evident as in 1891 when Macdonald appealed so effectively to the electorate for a National Policy. In 1911 Robert L. Borden, Conservative leader, successfully aroused similar feeling by denouncing an arrangement that would make Canada "an appanage of the United States."

The defeat of the Liberals in the 1911 election was decisive. Robert L. Borden became Premier under the very evident development of a growing devotion to the imperial connection and interests. The increasing conviction that Canada should link itself closely to the mother country and the empire has been evidenced by an interest in a navy and the enthusiastic participation in the World War. The year 1914 came as the acid test of the ideals which had governed Canadian growth since the days of Confederation.¹

PROVINCIAL PROBLEMS

In addition to the political development which has been sketched, there have been certain characteristic internal troubles that need to be considered. Occasional strain has occurred in the relations between the provinces and the central Government. Sir John A. Macdonald recommended in 1879 the dismissal of the Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec for the summary way in which he had dismissed his ministry. The prerogatives of the central Government were emphasized also in the matter of the boundary between Ontario and Manitoba, in which Macdonald seemed to be working against the interests of his own province.

The matter of education was left to the provinces, with the restriction that denominational privileges in effect at the union should not be diminished by later legislation. There was difficulty in several provinces over the question of church rights under the laws enacted after the union. Probably the most notable case occurred in Manitoba where education was a serious question during the nineties. When the province was organized, denominational schools had been established, but in 1890 the legislature made provision for strictly non-sectarian schools. The Roman Catholics pressed for their former position, and the Conservative Dominion Premier, Mackenzie Bowell, demanded in 1895 that such be granted. Feeling was running high, however, and Manitoba refused to assent as required. The question was brought into the elections of 1896, but it failed to deflect any large Roman Catholic

¹ See p. 450.

vote from Laurier, as the Conservatives had hoped. After conferences between the federal and provincial ministries it was finally agreed to allow religious teaching in the schools during certain hours, if a sufficient number of parents so requested. It was essentially a victory for the province.

An interesting case in which the provincial privileges were tested was in the matter of the Jesuits' Estates. In the early days of Canada the Jesuits had acquired lands in the French Canadian province of Quebec. With the abolition of the Order in 1773 these lands came into the possession of the Government and were used to further public instruction in the province of Quebec. When the Jesuit Order was reestablished in the nineteenth century, it naturally demanded back its lands. But the Roman Catholic bishops laid claims to the lands as well. At last, in 1888, the Quebec legislature passed a bill authorizing compensation to the Jesuits in the sum of \$400,000, but with the provision that distribution should not be made until the Pope had declared his wishes. Extreme Protestants were aroused by this appeal to an outside Government in order to settle an affair that concerned Canadian lands. The Pope awarded the compensation, in part to the Jesuits, in part to the Roman Catholic bishops and in part to Laval University. A resolution introduced in the Dominion House of Commons to disallow the Quebec Jesuits' Estates Act was voted down. Thus another instance of provincial independence was furnished.

There has been considerable racial strain and stress no unlike that in South Africa. The French have remained in an overwhelming majority in Quebec. They have been apprehensive of losing the strong position they had at the time of Confederation, on account of the growth of the other, and especially the western, provinces. The French Canadian have been very tenacious of their institutions, language, and religion, and jealous of any infringement of their rights. A time has gone on, the French have grown stronger, if anything, in Quebec, and have asserted their claims to special school concessions in those counties of eastern Ontario bordering on Quebec.

In general, this group has proved loyal to the British Empire. As might be expected, however, they have not shown such spontaneity in the meeting of imperial needs as their British fellow citizens. The World War brought this issue clearly before the French Canadians. Even Sir Wilfrid Laurier was in favor of an army liable for home service only, and Quebec, in the election of 1917, registered its feeling on compulsory service by granting the Borden Government but three seats out of sixty-five. At that time the Quebec Nationalists under the lead of Henri Bourassa even talked of secession; during the South African War Bourassa opposed closer relations between Canada and the Empire, and the assumption of an obligation for the defense of the Empire. It is probably inevitable that in Canada as in South Africa local interests should more largely control the racial group that is not British.¹

THE CANADA OF TO-DAY

The Dominion of Canada has a population of nearly nine million. As the total area of Canada is about the same as that of the United States, the population per square mile is comparatively low. On the contrary, there is no general distribution, for the inhabited part of Canada is largely confined to a rather narrow strip along the southern border of the Dominion. There are nine provinces: four, Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, were united by the Act of Confederation in 1867; British Columbia joined in 1871 and Prince Edward Island in 1873. In 1870 the province of Manitoba was formed out of the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company, which had been transferred to the Dominion by an Order-in-Council of that year. The Yukon

¹ The death of Sir Wilfrid Laurier in 1919 removed one of the most picturesque and most beloved statesmen from Canadian public life. His career serves as an excellent illustration of the patriotism of a Canadian whose interests were somewhat divided by his French-Canadian nationality. Though resisting clerical interference in political affairs, he was invincibly loyal to his race and clung to the last to Quebec. Laurier had opposed confederation in his youth and to the end could not be regarded as an ardent Imperialist. As he felt in 1867 that Confederation was "the tomb of the French race," so in later years he felt that the Dominion would be comparatively uninfluential in an Empire more centrally organized.

Territory was organized in 1898 and the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta in 1905. In 1912 large areas of the Northwest Territories were transferred to Quebec, Ontario, and Manitoba. Quebec then received the whole of Ungava, excepting that part of Labrador which belongs to Newfoundland, Ontario was carried to the southern shores of Hudson Bay, and the province of Manitoba was extended northward to the sixtieth parallel of north latitude, the northern boundary of Alberta, Saskatchewan and British Columbia as well. In spite of these large additions to the provinces, one third of the land-surface of Canada is still in the Northwest Territories.

Ontario led in 1921 with a population of three million, followed by Quebec with two and a third million inhabitants. Saskatchewan ranked third with three quarters of a million, and Manitoba came next with a population of over six hundred thousand. Alberta, Nova Scotia, and British Columbia each possessed over half a million inhabitants and New Brunswick about three hundred and ninety thousand. Prince Edward Island, with fewer than one hundred thousand people, was the most thickly populated province of the Dominion. Particularly remarkable has been the growth of the prairie provinces. At the opening of the present century Saskatchewan and Alberta had smaller populations than Prince Edward Island. For several decades there has been a full stream of immigration to Canada, which reached a high-water mark in 1913 when over four hundred thousand persons entered the Dominion, more than a third coming from the United States.

Agriculture is important in all the provinces, although the great prairie provinces lead. In recent years there has been much "advanced" legislation in these provinces in the interests of the farmers. Fishing is a valued industry in the Atlantic provinces and in British Columbia. The chief mining districts are found in Nova Scotia, British Columbia, Ontario, and Quebec. The importance of the Yukon Territory in this regard has declined within recent years. The older provinces, especially Quebec and Ontario, lead in manufacturing and commerce.

The general election of 1921 illustrates well the developing interests of the various parts of the Dominion. In it the Coalition Party, which was formed for war purposes in 1917, was very badly defeated. The Liberals came back to power under the lead of William Lyon Mackenzie King, the grandson of the leader of the Canadian Rebellion in Ontario in 1837.¹ The prairie provinces returned, almost as a unit, the candidates of the Progressive Party, the farmers' organization. The Conservative Party, which came to power under Sir Robert Borden in 1911, won fewer seats than the Progressives; even the Prime Minister was not returned.

In connection with the remarkable expansion of recent years in Canada no better test is to be found than the development of communications. So important has this been in a country with the population distributed as it is in Canada that government assistance and supervision have been more common than in many countries. The construction of the Intercolonial and the main line of the Canadian Pacific railways has been described. The Grand Trunk, older than either of these railways, has increased in size, until to-day it is one of the chief continental lines. A third great system, known as the Canadian Northern, has spanned the continent as well. The Canadian National Railways, under the control of the government, now include all the important lines save the Canadian Pacific—more than half of the railway mileage of Canada. Numerous branches of these railway systems have been constructed in the agricultural provinces in particular, by which many new belts of prairie have been opened to communication and to outside markets. It is estimated that over two hundred millions of dollars have been granted by the Dominion, the provinces, and the municipalities in direct financial aid for the forty thousand miles of trackage in Canada. The great railway companies of Canada are much more than common carriers; they are public service corporations with a high sense of obligation to the country. They have been particularly notable as advertisers of Canada and have granted much assistance

¹ See pp. 225 ff.

to Old-World immigrants in the occupation of unsettled territories. By virtue of the Canadian Pacific Railway's ocean service on both the Atlantic and the Pacific an all-British route is maintained between Europe on the one side, and Asia and Australasia on the other.

Thus far the work of the Canadian has been that of the pioneer. In the fifty years since the Dominion came into being Canada has shown remarkable growth in many ways. Materially the great possibilities of the country have been realized, if by no means exhausted. Politically, responsible government, with a close adherence to imperial interests, has been worked out so successfully as to form an inspiration to other self-governing dominions. The National Policy of Macdonald has evolved into a national ideal. Imperial connections have been carefully maintained, and yet it was no idle boast of Canada's Premier that the Dominion took part in the World War of 1914 as a "participating nation."

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

For four thousand miles the United States and Canada have a common boundary. In addition, the population of the Dominion is distributed like a long ribbon along this frontier. It is inevitable that there should be reciprocal influences of the one nation upon the other, particularly as they are of the same stock, speak the same language, and have similar institutions. The relations of the two have not always been amicable. Yet, since the War of 1812, there has been peace, although at times trouble of a serious nature seemed at hand.

Much controversy has raged over boundary questions. The early treaties were indefinite, owing to an inaccurate knowledge of the geography of the North American continent. In 1842 the vexed question of the Maine boundary was settled after Maine and New Brunswick were almost at blows in the so-called "Aroostook War." The settlement of the conflicting claims of the two neighbors gave the Americans much less than they claimed, and the United States paid the State of Maine \$150,000 for its loss; but the Cana

dians felt that Maine had received much more than was its due, as a result of confusion with regard to the River St. Croix, which had been declared in 1783 to be a part of the boundary. As it is, Maine juts so far toward the St. Lawrence as to make the direct route between Montreal and St. John cross American territory.

The Oregon boundary was settled at about the same time. The Hudson's Bay Company was trading in British Columbia and along the Columbia River long before 1846. Citizens of the United States began to settle along the Columbia after Lewis and Clark made their famous overland journey early in the century. It was a question of great perplexity as to whom the district rightly belonged. In 1845 the Democratic Party declared that the United States should have the coast to the southern point of Alaska, $54^{\circ} 40'$. The campaign slogan was "Fifty-Four-Forty or Fight," but after President Polk's election the administration was not eager to prolong trouble over the Oregon territory, inasmuch as a war was imminent with Mexico over Texas. The President offered to compromise with Great Britain on the forty-ninth parallel. After some hesitation, Great Britain agreed to this boundary.

The Treaty of 1846 declared that the boundary line along the forty-ninth parallel continued westward to the middle of the channel separating Vancouver Island from the continent, and thence southerly through the middle of the channel and of Fuca's Straits to the Pacific. This gave Great Britain all of Vancouver Island, a part of which extends below the forty-ninth parallel. The British and Americans, however, could not agree on the channel that the boundary line was supposed to follow. It was a matter of no great importance, as it concerned only the ownership of the small island of San Juan. At last in 1871 the question was referred to the German Emperor, who decided in favor of the United States.

Although all boundary trouble seemed to be over with the settlement of this matter, a further cause for controversy remained. The purchase of Alaska by the United States in 1867 made it necessary to settle the common frontier with

Canada, especially after the discovery of gold in the Yukon gave great value to seaports. The land boundary of the long stretch of Alaskan coast from the fifty-fourth to the sixtieth parallels was to follow the summits of the mountains which lay along the coast and the line was to be drawn parallel to the coast where the mountains were more than ten miles inland. The settlement between Russia and Great Britain of 1825, which the United States had inherited in 1867, declared that the boundary followed the windings of the coast at a distance not exceeding ten miles from the shore. The Lynn Canal inlet which deeply indents the very broken shore line, was most convenient for the miners of the Klondike, but the Americans claimed it. Some settlement of the jurisdiction of the two countries was necessary, in view of the growing importance and great attractiveness of Alaskan and Yukon gold-fields. Finally an agreement was reached in 1903, by which a joint commission of six members, three from the United States, two from Canada, and the Lord Chief Justice of England, was appointed to decide the question. The United States could hardly lose in such a body, if its representatives kept together. As it was, the Chief Justice sided with the Americans on the important points at issue. The disappointed Canadians declared that Great Britain's chief concern was to preserve friendly relations with the United States.

Considerable trouble has occurred over the fisheries. The Treaty of 1783 gave the people of the United States fishing rights in British waters. This was extended in 1818, and again in 1854 when a Reciprocity Treaty was made between the two adjoining countries. In 1866 the United States terminated the reciprocity agreement. Yet American fishermen were reluctant to discontinue their customary practices. Licenses proved ineffective, and the British had recourse to a small fleet for the protection of their fishing rights. Considerable friction resulted, which was terminated by the Treaty of Washington in 1871. Yet a satisfactory arrangement was not reached, as the privileges accorded the Americans in this agreement were felt by the Canadians to outweigh those

granted the Dominion. After commissioners were appointed to determine the amount of compensation, if any, Great Britain was awarded the sum of five and a half million dollars.

On the west coast, trouble occurred over the fishing for fur seals in Bering Sea. The United States took the position that Bering Sea was a *mare clausum*, and attempted to prevent other nations from carrying on sealing. A commission that met to decide the question in 1897 declared against the interpretation of the United States and awarded Great Britain half a million dollars for ships wrongly seized by the United States outside the three-mile limit.

Of great assistance to the peaceful character of the relations of the two countries was the agreement of 1817 by which no armaments were to be kept on the Great Lakes. There have been, however, occasional causes of trouble. At the time of the Canadian Rebellion of 1837 insurgents obtained supplies from the American side. In the capture by the Canadians of the vessel used for conveying munitions to Canada an American was killed. The feeling aroused finally died down, and the man who asserted that he had shot the American was acquitted and released by the State of New York.

Shortly after the Civil War the Fenian troubles were a fruitful cause for ill feeling. The Fenians of Ireland had sympathizers in the United States, who thought to aid the cause of Ireland by attacking Canada. To the Dominion the Fenians seemed a serious menace, as the Civil War had given military training to many Irish adventurers. In 1866 fifteen hundred Irishmen crossed the Niagara River, but were soon driven back, and their leaders were arrested by the American authorities. Another attempt to invade Canada in 1871 was suppressed by the United States; but the Fenian invasion served to arouse in Canadians a fear of American aggression, which has done much to perpetuate the feeling that the United States would like to annex Canada if it dared. The difficulty over the matter of trade relations, to which reference has been made, is owing in no small measure to the same suspicion of American motives.

It is evident that sensitiveness and suspicion, arrogance and tactlessness have been present in the relations of the United States and Canada. A brilliant Canadian journalist, in a series of lectures before an American university in 1917, has thus summed up the situation: "Each people has its advantages and its handicaps. Both are alike in this, that Canadians have been slow to learn from the longer experience of Americans, and quick to resent both dictation and advice; even as Americans, in the youthful days of their nation, thought Britain an old fogey. With so much in common we have often declined to learn the primary things in each other's history, and sometimes we have behaved with the brutal frankness of blood relations."¹

The importance of good feeling and friendly coöperation between Canada and the United States cannot be overestimated. The great American Republic here comes into its most intimate contact with the great British Empire. The coöperation of English-speaking peoples for the spread of Anglo-American ideals is one of the great potential powers for good in the world of our time. In the promotion of this *entente cordiale* Canada occupies a strategic position as the great interpreter of the two branches of the English-speaking peoples.

NEWFOUNDLAND

One of the strangest members of the British Empire is Newfoundland. This island, which is larger than Ireland and but little smaller than England in area, is separated from Canada by the comparatively narrow strait of Belle Isle. Yet its connection with the European continent has been, if anything, more intimate than with the neighboring continent. It is less than seventeen hundred miles from Ireland, and for centuries has been visited annually by fishing fleets from France and the British Isles.

Newfoundland is Great Britain's senior colony. Although John Cabot discovered it in 1497, it was not until the end of the War of the Spanish Succession (1713) that France

¹ James A. Macdonald, *The North American Idea*, pp. 160-61.

ceded to Great Britain its sovereign rights in Newfoundland. Even then the French retained privileges on the Treaty Shore which were akin to sovereignty. In like manner, the Americans, by the Treaty of 1783 granting independence to the thirteen colonies, were given fishing rights about Newfoundland that made the island more an international territory than an exclusively British possession. In addition, the coming of fleets annually from Great Britain made the colony seem less of a colony than most possessions of the mother country; it was, in reality, a part of Great Britain rather than a distinct unit like Canada or Malta or Jamaica. Because of the fact that Canadian, American, and French fleets participated in the fisheries along with the vessels of Great Britain and Newfoundland, this half-colony has seemed almost more of a fishing ground for the nations than a British holding.

The outstanding feature of Newfoundland life is the industry of fishing. Until recent years, when agricultural and pastoral pursuits, mining and lumbering have been developing, practically the entire population lived on the coast and engaged in fishing. It has been a colony of one industry and that a dedication of all the inhabitants to reaping the sea-harvest of cod, fish-bait, seals, lobsters, and whales. Two thirds of the value of the exports consists of dried cod and cod-oil. Herring, sea-products, and lobsters are also important. Cod are more numerous in the waters about Newfoundland than anywhere else in the world. From June until the end of October the season is "on." In connection with the fishing for cod, certain smaller fishes serve as bait — the herring, the caplin, and the squid. These are followed to the banks and shoals by the cod, where the latter are caught by the fishermen in numerous ways. Seals are caught for their oil and their skins. Lobsters are being tinned in larger and larger quantities in Newfoundland; the industry began only as late as 1873. Whaling has assumed greater importance since the invention of the harpoon gun. The whale is valuable not only for its oil, but for the by-products of guano and bone.

This international fishing ground did not begin to evolve into a colony with a distinct self-consciousness until the nineteenth century. Until a comparatively recent period the policy of the British Government was not to encourage, but as much as possible to discourage, the regular colonization of Newfoundland. This attitude is to be accounted for largely by the wish to keep the fishing industry a British one, thus profiting more directly British interests, and, in particular, providing a nursery for British seamen. Until 1825 the Governor ruled without a Council. For the next seven years there was a nominee Council, and from 1832 to 1855 this body was composed partly of nominees and partly of elected members. Finally in 1855 responsible government was granted, just about the time it was being extended to the Australasian dominions. The system of government is like that of Canada, consisting of two houses and a cabinet responsible for its acts to the lower chamber. Of the quarter of a million people living on the island the greatest number is concentrated in the southeast corner of Newfoundland, where the capital, St. John's, is located. Because of its value for fishing purposes and its use for the Newfoundland fleet, Labrador is a part of the colony of Newfoundland, though it is located on the mainland.

The growing self-consciousness of the island has been engendered by the endeavor to bring the fisheries more and more under the colony's control. Much controversy has occurred with the French over fishing rights. France obtained in 1783 possession of the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon off the south coast as bases for its fishing fleets, and also the exclusive right to fish on the west coast of Newfoundland. There the French regarded their rights as practically absolute, even to the point of prohibiting Newfoundlanders from settling on the Treaty Shore. The situation could not but become acute with the growth of the colony. It claimed the right to legislate for its own fisheries, passing the Bait Act of 1886, under which the all-important bait could be sold only under license. The French retaliated by destroying the lobster factories on the Treaty Shore. Great Britain was in-

dulgent of the French in order to prevent international difficulties, but in 1904 the tension was relieved by the Lansdowne-Cambon Convention. France abandoned all its rights in Newfoundland, and was compensated by a payment of half a million dollars and the cession of some British territories on the west coast of Africa.

American fishing concessions have caused considerable trouble as well. The privilege granted in 1783 and reaffirmed in 1818 gave the ships from the United States the right to fish on certain shores and to enter bays and harbors for shelter, repairs, and similar purposes. The Americans caused ill feeling by the use of larger seines than those of the Newfoundlanders, by fishing on Sunday, by refusing to pay light and port duties, and by otherwise disregarding local customs and regulations. The colonists possessed an effective weapon in the restriction on bait-selling. By 1905 the situation was serious; the colony passed laws injuring the fishing interests of the United States, in addition to passing further anti-bait regulations. The various causes of trouble were referred to the Hague Tribunal, which gave an award in 1910. Great Britain was declared to have a right to make regulations regarding fishing without the consent of the United States, provided the regulations were *bona fide* and not in violation of the Treaty of 1818. The Americans were allowed to employ foreigners on their ships and to land in bays and harbors as permitted by the Treaty. The award served to clear up many points of difference, and was a step toward the colonial control of the fisheries.

The internal development of the island was as dependent on the building of a railway as that of the prairies of British North America on the construction of the Canadian Pacific. In 1890 plans were formed for a railway across the island. In 1893 the contract was let to R. G. Reid of Montreal, who had constructed a large section of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The terms of the contract were altogether extraordinary; the contractor was to receive over fifteen thousand dollars per mile in Newfoundland bonds and to work the railway for ten years in return for grants of five-thousand-

acre blocks along the line for every mile of railway operated. In 1898 the Government accepted a new proposal from Reid by which he was to operate the railway for fifty years and then to become the owner. He was to have two and a half million acres of land in addition to the previous grants, to take over the telegraph system, the electric railway in St. John's, and the government dry dock. For these privileges, the Government was to receive one million dollars. There was much objection to these arrangements. In 1900 Sir James Winter, the Premier who had agreed to the contracts, was forced to resign. He was succeeded by Mr. (later Sir) Robert Bond, probably the best known of Newfoundland statesmen. The new Premier arranged for a modified contract, under which the Reid properties were held by a company, the telegraph lines taken back by the Government, and Newfoundland given the option of purchasing the railway at the end of fifty years.

There has been considerable discussion from time to time of the wisdom of uniting with Canada. The island's interests, however, have been so distinct that union has never taken place. At the time of Confederation Newfoundland held aloof, as Macdonald did not seem concerned with the island's interests. In 1894-95, when Newfoundland was faced with serious financial disaster, a delegation went to Ottawa to inquire concerning the possibility of joining the Dominion; but Sir Mackenzie Bowell, then Premier, was unwilling that Canada should assume Newfoundland's debt of \$16,000,000. It is probable that this senior colony of the Empire will continue to live its own life in its own way. It may be as well, for no British possession — least of all the provinces of the Dominion — is like the island of Newfoundland, wedded, as it is, to the sea.

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The recently launched *Canadian Historical Review*, continuing an annual survey of historical publications relating to Canada, is published in Toronto, and will undoubtedly serve as the important medium for the publication of, and information regarding, research in Canadian history.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE IMPERIAL ORGANIZATION AT THE OPENING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

THE British Empire has grown through a period extending into four centuries; during all this time, with the single exception of the loss of the thirteen American colonies two hundred years later, the structure has been enlarging from the time that Sir Humphrey Gilbert annexed Newfoundland in 1583. When Gilbert was adding to British territory in North Atlantic waters, Spain and Portugal were the dominant European nations with oversea empires. Just at that time, however, England was becoming mistress of the sea and thereby laying the base upon which an oversea dominion could be safely constructed. Therefore, before the Greater Britain of the twentieth century is considered as a whole, it will be well for us to review briefly the course by which the imperial territories were increased after the beginning made in 1583.

THE GROWTH OF GREATER BRITAIN

During the seventeenth century the English were not by any means so important as other peoples in the building of empire. Holland attained a temporary leadership during this time, while Spain and Portugal were becoming more and more apathetic. England was adding to its possessions more slowly than Holland, but its work proved to have more lasting vigor. The interests of England were to be found in two parts of the new world in the seventeenth century. In the Far East the Honourable East India Company was trading in spices and other precious merchandise with no thought of sovereignty on a large scale. Before 1700 the Company had acquired possession of but four stations Madras, Bombay, Fort St. David, and Calcutta.

Across the Atlantic Englishmen were doing very different work. Early in the century the islands off the southeaster

shores of North America were of such interest that by the end of the Commonwealth many islands of the West Indies, as well as the Bermudas, were in English hands. Most prominent among them were Barbados, settled by 1625, and Jamaica, which was captured by Cromwell's officers thirty years later. We have found how the slave-trade was connected with West Indian development; therefore, it is not surprising to know that holdings in West Africa at Gambia and on the Gold Coast were taken about this time. It was in this century also that St. Helena was acquired by the East India Company.

Most important of all in the accomplishments of the seventeenth century was the settlement of the American mainland, first in Virginia and Massachusetts, and afterwards along the whole coast from Florida and the Spanish possessions in the south to the basin of the St. Lawrence in the north. The Dutch colony of New Amsterdam, separating the English in New England from the southern colonies, was captured shortly after the Restoration of the Stuarts.

With the eighteenth century the Empire assumed a new and important place in the political world. Holland, Spain, and Portugal had declined, but France had risen in their place to be Great Britain's rival for oversea territories. Beginning with 1689, a series of wars with France lasting over a century resulted in some British colonial losses which were offset by substantial additions of territory. The British mastery of the sea was the decisive factor that made possible the continual advance of British imperialism. In fact, the wars of the eighteenth century gave to Great Britain the leading position among maritime powers. By the end of the Seven Years' War (1763) numerous additions to the British Empire had been made. Gibraltar, various West Indian islands, and Canada came under British control; English-speaking people seemed to have secured hold of a continent. In India the Franco-British duel resulted in a decisive victory for the British, with the conscious desire to bring more and more of India under the Company's control.

From 1763 to 1815 the rivalry of the French and the Brit-

ish continued. The revolt of the American colonies and their loss was a severe blow to British imperialism; a calamity that was made possible by French assistance and the enlargement of the Revolutionary War into a world conflict. As the century came to a close the Empire seemed to be dissolving, and numerous prophets uttered jeremiads on the decline and fall of British oversea dominion. The "Old" Empire was discredited. In the last of the series of wars with France — the conflict with the Revolution and Napoleon — Great Britain somewhat retrieved its standing, for possessions some of which were to prove of great value later were added at this time — British Guiana and Trinidad in the West Indies; Malta, Heligoland and the Ionian Islands off the European coast; and Malacca, Ceylon, the Seychelles, Mauritius, and Cape Colony along the course of eastern trade. In India the British power was reaching far inland from the original factories, and a beginning was made in the Malay Straits by the acquisition of the island of Penang.

The nineteenth century can be divided into two parts, from the point of view of British colonial policy. From the close of the Napoleonic wars until about 1885, when the other European nations became keenly interested in Empire, Great Britain leisurely added to its possessions by the occupation of new lands or of territories contiguous to former holdings. In India considerable energy was displayed. There, by wars with the native states, great additions were made in Burma, on the northwest frontier, and across the Indus to the west. After the Mutiny (1857) the Company ceased to exist and Great Britain ruled in name, as it had formerly controlled in fact, the Indian peninsula. To the west of India strategic points such as Aden and Perim were obtained, and in the Malay Peninsula further additions were made. In 1841 Hong Kong became British, and shortly afterwards Sarawak was the scene of British activity. In the Mediterranean the Ionian Islands were surrendered and Cyprus was occupied.

The most noteworthy development of the years between the loss of the American colonies and the emergence of a new

imperialism just one hundred years later was the growth among the English-speaking colonies of great self-governing "dominions," which were to become more and more conscious of the right of nationhood for themselves. Canada, which came to its own after the secession of its southern neighbors, grew until it extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific. After obtaining political control of its own internal affairs in the forties, it went on to federation in 1867, furnishing the leadership in these two regards for the other self-governing Dominions. In the southern seas the British made settlements shortly after the American Revolution; for convicts were sent to New South Wales in 1788. From this questionable beginning there developed numerous settlements on the Australian coasts and in New Zealand and Tasmania; by 1885 the convict settlements — they did not include New Zealand and South Australia — had freed themselves from transportation and had attained responsible government. During this time many changes took place in South Africa. The Cape and Natal came under definite British jurisdiction, while the Boers trekked northward and established the sovereignties of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. Later they were to be added to the British Empire and become a part of another self-governing Dominion.

As a matter of fact, for most of the nineteenth century interest in the colonies was not keen, and the "New" Empire was growing naturally by extensions of settlements previously made. The years since 1885 can be conveniently considered as the years of the New Imperialism, when a great advance in imperial interests and in actual possessions was registered, not only by Great Britain, but by its rivals as well. The numerous islands and territories unappropriated by European Powers and yet too backward to defend or control themselves were snatched up by the various nations during these years. Great Britain made important additions to its Empire in several parts of the world.

Although there were accessions in the Western Pacific, the chief field for the operation of this new enthusiasm was the continent of Africa. It was "opened up" in the eighties;

the decades following saw most of the continent parceled out among the European nations. Cyprus was "occupied" by Britain in 1878, and Egypt and the Sudan came under British supervision shortly afterward. On the west coast the territory back of Sierra Leone — ceded to Great Britain in 1787 — was acquired, and similar proceedings took place with regard to the hinterlands of the Gold Coast and Gambia. During the seventies the British began to exercise, by means of residents, a supervision of various Malay states, which were consolidated into the Federated Malay States in the following decade. The vast region of Nigeria was at first (1886) under the Royal Niger Company, but was later (1890) transferred to the Crown. In 1884 British Somaliland, on the southern shore of the Gulf of Aden, was taken over; in the eighties and nineties the protectorates of Uganda, East Africa, and Zanzibar, adjacent to each other, were brought securely under British control.

In southern Africa great changes have taken place since 1885. The discoveries of diamonds and gold gave value to the lands of the interior. After a war with the Transvaal and the Orange Free State just at the close of the century, these countries were added to the British possessions and later (1910) joined with Natal and Cape Colony to form the self-governing Union of South Africa. British power was exercised over neighboring territories, so that during these decades the Empire came to include Nyasaland, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, and Rhodesia as well.

Other additions to the Empire after the rise of the New Imperialism include additional Malay states, further territory in North Borneo and about Hong Kong, as well as the addition by lease from China of Wei-hai-wei in 1898.

From 1814 to 1914 the imperial accretions were not at the expense of rival European Governments. Yet in South Africa, India, and New Zealand the enlarging Empire was met with military resistance on the part of native peoples. In South Africa trouble occurred with the Dutch in addition. The World War of 1914 created a situation out of which further expansion became possible.

The structure whose gradual construction we have briefly sketched is surely an imposing accomplishment. The British Empire included, at the opening of the World War in 1914, lands on all the continents, as well as islands in every ocean, totaling about thirteen million square miles of territory — about four times the size of the United States and approximately one fourth of the total land-surface of the globe. The racial mixture within this one political group is very great indeed. Within the Empire live 460,000,000 people — one fourth of the world's population — among whom are representatives of all the great racial divisions. Over 60,000,000, or one seventh of the total, are of the white race. The Indian Empire, with a population of over 319,000,000, is the home of nearly three fourths of the Empire's population.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE EMPIRE

The political situation in so complex an organism presents almost as diversified a picture as does the human make-up of the Empire. Greater Britain may be divided into five distinct groups so far as its government is concerned — the United Kingdom, the self-governing Dominions, the Crown Colonies, the territories under the jurisdiction of chartered companies, and British India. As an outer fringe over which there is a lesser degree of political jurisdiction, there are the various protectorates and spheres of influence. The governments in the Empire are by no means static. Progress in the constitutional development has been continuous, and in recent years, especially since 1914, very rapid.

It is unnecessary to detail the government of Great Britain, for out of it American institutions have grown. England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland have been united under the control of one Parliament sitting in London. The House of Commons is elected from the United Kingdom on a franchise now practically universal. The party that can control a majority in the Commons rules through a Cabinet dependent upon its good will and support and, therefore, on the majority opinion of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom as expressed at the polls. The Cabinet — an organization un-

recognized by law, but wielding the greatest power in the government of the Empire — serves as the executive, the King acting on the advice of the Cabinet.

Wales was united to England during the time of the Tudors. The organic union with Scotland was consummated at the opening of the eighteenth century after the two countries had been under a common ruler for one hundred years. Ireland was more or less dominated by English kings through the later Middle Ages. Queen Elizabeth attempted to subordinate it more completely, and Cromwell, in the middle of the seventeenth century, harshly subdued Irish revolts against alien rule. As we have found, this island was treated much as a colony under the old mercantile system, suffering even more than the other colonies because of its proximity to England. In 1782, however, England was forced to grant Ireland legislative independence, or self-government. This privilege was taken from it in 1800, when Ireland was made part of the United Kingdom in the sense that thereafter it sent members to the Parliament in London.

During the nineteenth century the situation in the western isle became gradually worse. Being largely of different race and religion from the English and separated by a stretch of sea, the Irish chafed under the situation in which they found themselves. The desire for Home Rule developed, but was strongly opposed by the Unionists in both England and Ireland. Republicanism began to appear as a result of mistreatment and unrealized hopes; first as the Fenian uprising, later as Sinn Fein, this movement grew to an alarming extent. By the opening of the War of 1914 it had become a distinct menace. Ireland has furnished the Empire one of its most perplexing problems, and England seems to have experienced uncommon difficulty in finding the appropriate time and method for its solution.¹

The British Isles include, in addition to the United Kingdom, two interesting groups of islanders, those on the Isle of Man in the Irish Sea and those living on the Channel Islands

¹ At the close of 1921 the revolting Irish were offered Dominion home rule. For this very significant extension of Dominion self-government see pp. 465 ff.

off the coast of France. The Isle of Man was a Norwegian possession until it came under the control of Scotch kings in the thirteenth century. Since the opening of modern history it has been held under the English kings, at first in a feudal relation and, since 1765, directly by the Crown. It does not send representatives to London, but has its own law courts and a Parliament known as the Tynwald. It is not to be regarded as a part of the United Kingdom, but is much like a self-governing colony under the control of a committee of the Privy Council.

The Channel Islands, of which Jersey and Guernsey are best known, have much the same relation to the United Kingdom as the Isle of Man. They are the one remnant of the old Duchy of Normandy still held by the British Crown. The Channel Islands have their own assemblies, their peculiar laws, and a bilingual system, Norman-French still being spoken in the islands. Like the Isle of Man, they are best thought of as making up a small self-governing dominion similarly controlled by the Privy Council. The laws and customs of the islands retain, to an uncommon degree, the evidence of a long and unbroken tradition. When George V visited this ancient duchy in 1921, he received as feudal overlord the homage of the fief-holders. One of the seigneurs performed his serjeanty, by the presentation, as of old, of two mallard ducks to the sovereign.

What are known commonly as the self-governing Dominions are those parts of the British Empire across the seas where the British stock is predominant and where, in consequence, the privilege of ruling themselves on terms similar to those in the United Kingdom has found expression. They are five in number, the Colony of Newfoundland and the Dominion of Canada in the western hemisphere and the Union of South Africa, the Dominion of New Zealand, and the Commonwealth of Australia south of the equator. Newfoundland has always been a unit, but in every other case the present political organization is the result of a federation or union. It is unnecessary to consider the government of these Dominions, as that was explained when the history of these various colo-

nies received consideration. To each is sent a representative of the Crown, whose power is as limited as is that of the King in Great Britain. Each has the parliamentary system with a Cabinet as the executive, the idea of which has gone to the colonies along with English common law and culture. The formation of the federations has necessitated the study of similar systems, such as exist in the United States and Switzerland, and the inclusion of principles not found in the government of the United Kingdom. The upper houses in the self-governing colonies have tended to represent the geographical divisions, as in the United States.

The Dominions are bound to Great Britain in a variety of ways. The racial bond and the common cultural heritage are very significant. The self-governing Dominions are the only important imperial possessions outside the British Isles in which the white race lives in any large numbers. Of the 60,000,000 white people in the Empire, three fourths are in Great Britain and most of the remainder in the five Dominions. There are numerous common commercial and financial interests as well. This has been particularly true because of the importance of England as a manufacturing country and because of the need of assistance by the rapidly expanding Dominions for their adequate growth. The overseas possessions have Agents-General or High Commissioners in London to watch over the interests of the Dominions they represent and to further the financial and commercial welfare of their constituents. In recent years attempts have been made to increase the commercial interdependence within the Empire. Since 1908 Trade Commissioners have been appointed by the Board of Trade in each of the overseas Dominions as well as elsewhere in the Empire. The administration of this service has been handed over by the Board of Trade to the Department of Oversea Trade.

Legally there are a number of ways in which the attachment of the Dominions to Great Britain has been expressed. Each of the five has a Governor or Governor-General appointed by, and a representative of, the Crown. Furthermore, Dominion legislation must receive the assent of the

Crown and must not be inconsistent with any Imperial Act of Parliament. The Parliament of London has the right to pass laws for the Empire as a whole, but such a power has become less and less operative. The right of the Imperial Government to withhold assent to Dominion legislation is practically obsolete. There also exists the right of appeal from the Dominions to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.¹ The ties that bind the Dominions in a legal way to the Government in London have been the subject of much discussion in recent years. There has been a decided tendency on the part of the oversea colonies with responsible government to minimize the legal bonds that subordinate them to the mother country or, at least, so to interpret the constitutional relationship as to emphasize the equality of the Dominions and Great Britain. Recent epoch-making developments, especially in the relation of the Dominions to the Imperial Cabinet and the foreign policy of the Empire, have been reserved for a later chapter.²

British India does not come under the jurisdiction of the Colonial Office, largely because of its size and of the great and complicated problems peculiar to India which are connected with its administration. As we have learned, it was for long under the East India Company, but, as time went on, the British Government more and more carefully supervised the administration of the Company. In 1858 the Indian possessions were transferred to the Crown. With the method of governing India then and the changes since made we are not here concerned.³ The Indian Empire's connection with the home Government is made, not through the Colonial Office, but by means of a Secretary of State for India, who is assisted by a Council and numerous subordinates in the India Office. The Secretary of State for India is a member of the Cabinet advising the Government on Indian matters and responsible to Parliament for the conduct of affairs in this part of the Empire. It is through him that the Viceroy in India communi-

¹ See Jenks, *The Government of the British Empire*, pp. 63-66, and Lowell, *The Government of England*, II, 392-407.

² See pp. 308 ff.

³ See chapter XVIII.

cates to the home Government and *vice versa*. India has received increasing rights of participation in the government of the peninsula from time to time, but relatively few of its people share as yet in the government of their land.

A large number of colonies are known as Crown Colonies. They vary in the nature of their governments, but are alike in the fact that they do not have responsible government as do the Dominions; they are more or less directly under the control of the Colonial Office. This department, headed since 1854 by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, has charge of matters concerned not only with the Crown Colonies, but also with the Dominions. The business of the Office, however, is largely made up of Crown Colony matters, and it is now divided into a Dominion Department and a Crown Colonies Department. The relation of the Dominions to the Colonial Office is not so real as the legal connection implies, for the direct executive control of the Colonial Office over the Dominions is almost negligible. The Secretary of State for the Colonies is a member of the Cabinet, and responsible for the conduct of his office to Parliament.¹

The Crown Colonies are inhabited, for the most part, by backward populations or have been taken from other empires, and would, therefore, not be considered capable of governing themselves according to British standards. At the head of each colony is the appointee of the Crown, who is assisted but not controlled by councils varying in character and number with the different colonies. It is usual to have an Executive Council whose members are appointed by the Crown, and which often includes non-official as well as official members. Although it has only advisory powers, the fact that its membership may include members of the colony with a great knowledge of local conditions makes it often influential in shaping the policy of the Government.

¹ The colonies had been cared for in a number of ways before 1854. Previous to the American Revolution the Secretary of State for the Southern Department supervised colonial matters. After 1782 the "Home" Secretary took care of "southern" business. In 1801 the colonies were transferred from the home to the war office, where they remained until 1854 in charge of the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies.

The higher type of Crown Colony has a legislature as well as an Executive Council. In its most advanced form the legislature is of two houses, the upper appointed by the Crown and the lower wholly elected by the inhabitants of the colony who are entitled to vote. Three colonies — the Bahamas, the Bermudas, and Barbados — are in this category; they may be considered as representing the highest type of Crown Colony. Slightly less advanced is a Crown Colony with a lower house partially appointed and partially elected. A good illustration of this type is Jamaica where the Legislative Council consists of five ex-officio, ten nominated, and fourteen elected, members.¹ The five presidencies of the Leeward Islands have a Federal Executive Council nominated by the Crown and a Federal Legislative Council of whom half are appointed and half elected. British Guiana, Malta, Cyprus, Ceylon, Mauritius, and Fiji were similarly governed at the opening of the World War.

In 1921 the island of Malta received a new constitution which has placed it in a position above any of the Crown Colonies. It was granted responsible self-government, such as exists in the Dominions, for purely local affairs, while matters of imperial concern were retained under the control of the Governor, assisted by an Executive Council. In 1919 there was a very evident desire in Malta for a constitution granting responsible government. The National Assembly proposed a draft constitution, which was made the basis of a second draft constitution prepared by the Colonial Office. This, in turn, received wide discussion; the completed document was formally put into effect in May, 1921.

The Maltese constitution makes provision for two concurrent systems of government, one for matters of imperial concern and one for purely local affairs. The two are united in the person of the chief Crown appointee, who is known as the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Malta; from one aspect he is the mouthpiece of the Imperial Govern-

¹ Jamaica was formerly in the same category with the Bahamas, the Bermudas, and Barbados, but its powers of fully representative government were lost in 1866 as the result of protracted differences with the mother country, largely because of the emancipation of the negroes.

ment, from another aspect the head of a self-governing community. The constitution provides for a legislature of two houses. There is a Ministry responsible to the legislature, as in the Dominions. English and Italian are recognized as the official languages; speeches in the legislature may be in Maltese as well. Matters of imperial concern which are without the jurisdiction of the constitution are such as affect the general defense of the Empire and the position of Malta as an imperial fortress, dockyard, and maritime center. This novel constitutional experiment has been made in order to grant a colony of great imperial importance, with a population largely non-British, a measure of self-government; this diarchical system seemingly answers the objection that one might about as well grant a constitution to a battleship as give one to Malta.¹

Below those colonies with a lower house partially appointed and partially elected are those with legislatures wholly nominated; in the western hemisphere British Honduras, the Windward Islands, and Trinidad are representatives of this most common form of Crown Colony. In a few colonies, of which Gibraltar and St. Helena are illustrations, the Governor is the autocratic ruler of the colony. Military reasons have been influential in deciding the governmental character of this group of British possessions.

Next below the Crown Colonies are the protectorates. By far the greatest number of protected states are the native states of India, whose relation to the Indian Government has been explained on another page. The Federated Malay States have a similar connection with the Straits Settlements. This class of imperial possessions is well represented in the various parts of Africa. Bechuanaland in the south, Somaliland, Uganda and Nyasaland in the east are protectorates. In addition, Gambia, the Gold Coast, and Nigeria in west Africa, and Kenya on the eastern coast are Crown Colonies with which native protected states are connected. Previous to the opening of the World War, Egypt was a part of

¹ See the official *Papers Relating to the New Constitution of Malta*. May, 1921 (Cmd. 1321).

the Turkish Empire with an hereditary line of rulers who were "advised" to such an extent as to make the rule essentially British; the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan was under the joint administration of Great Britain and Egypt. When the war broke out in 1914 the informal Egyptian protectorate became formal, to the great dissatisfaction of many Egyptians. In 1922 Egypt obtained the status of an independent, sovereign state.

There is a small group of British holdings that are administered by chartered companies. The commercial interests of the eighties are responsible for a sort of development recalling to mind the trading companies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The British North Borneo Company was granted a charter in 1881 for the purpose of acquiring and governing territories in North Borneo. It does not engage in trade, however, and its Governor is appointed with the approval of the Colonial Secretary.

The exploitation of Africa in the eighties offered considerable opportunity for the activity of trading syndicates. In 1886 the National African Company obtained a charter under the name of the Royal Niger Company which enabled it to develop and administer the valuable lands along the Niger River. This Company was very active for the remainder of the century; it surrendered its charter in 1899, when growing international complications as well as the increasing burden of the administration led to the formation of British protectorates in this important commercial region, "one of the most solid and valuable possessions of the British Crown." Similarly in East Africa a British chartered company held sway for a time. The Imperial British East African Company received a royal charter in 1888 to administer some territories obtained from the Sultan of Zanzibar the year before. The task was so great and the Germans were so active in East Africa that the Company surrendered its rights to the British government in 1895.

The best known of the modern chartered companies is the British South Africa Company with which we have become familiar in studying the efforts of Cecil Rhodes to establish

British dominion in the lands which Livingstone had made known.¹ This important Company obtained its charter in 1889; it has retained the right to administer the government of Rhodesia to the present time. This chartered Company has done notable work for the Empire in developing a part of Africa so full of possibilities. It will soon cease to exercise its rights in Rhodesia where the inhabitants are already asking for a responsible government.

A more shadowy relationship is borne to certain states, not under British jurisdiction, but whose position gives the British Empire an inherent interest in their development. Under this caption Egypt, Oman, Afghanistan, Nepal, Bhutan, and Tibet might be included. Very definite spheres of influence were marked out in Persia and China in the opening years of the twentieth century.

COLONIAL CONFERENCES

Truly the British Empire is not homogeneous either as regards its inhabitants or its political divisions. Growing out of these conditions and resulting from imperial expansion on every continent and in every ocean are numerous international problems, which a more compact geographical union would not have to face. Thus the foreign policy of the Empire is a delicate matter, requiring much care to engineer successfully, since so many different sorts of interests have to be borne in mind. This foreign policy has been in the care of a Cabinet member in London answerable only to the Parliament of the British Isles. In consequence, no part of the Empire but the British Isles represented in the Parliament in London could be regarded, in the days before the World War, as self-governing, so far as the foreign affairs of the Empire were concerned. This peculiarity, as well as the need for greater coöperation in other ways, has led to efforts to secure the assistance in imperial affairs of the most highly developed colonies — the self-governing Dominions — by means of Conferences.

The need for a closer articulation of the scattered parts

¹ See pp. 365 ff.

the Empire was felt even before the days of the new imperialism in the eighties. In 1868 the Royal Colonial Institute was organized by men of both the great political parties to awaken an interest in the oversea Empire; from the outset it had as its motto a "United Empire." The Imperial Federation League was the direct result of greater interest in the oversea possessions which arose in the eighties, and which affected not only the British nation, but other states of the world as well.¹ A year after the appearance of that noteworthy volume, Seeley's *Expansion of England*, the Imperial Federation League was organized with W. E. Forster, a former Under-Secretary for the Colonies, as its first chairman. It was directly concerned with securing "by Federation the permanent unity of the Empire" and thus combining "on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests and for an organized defence of common rights." As the first chairman put it, the League was to promote "such a union of the Mother Country with the Colonies as will keep the realm one State in relation to other States."

For a decade (1884-93) the Imperial Federation League was very active. Branches were formed in the colonies. When Mr. Forster died in 1886, Lord Rosebery succeeded him as chairman. In the next year the first of the Colonial Conferences was convened. This step had been urged by a deputation of the League, and that society may rightly be regarded as an important factor in the institution of the Colonial Conferences. It urged that the conferences should be periodic, long before they were deemed regular and indispensable elements of the imperial organization. In 1893 the League was dissolved. Imperial federation did not find a large response; as Lord Rosebery later declared, it appeared to be "an impossible dream."²

The first Colonial Conference was held in 1887, the year of Queen Victoria's Jubilee. The Queen's Speech of 1886 had

¹ See chapter xvii.

² For the Imperial Federation League, from different points of view see Forsfold, *The Empire on the Anvil*, and H. D. Hall, *The British Commonwealth of Nations*.

declared that there was on all sides a growing desire to draw closer the bonds uniting the various parts of the Empire. At this first Conference military matters were prominent, although commercial and social relations were considered as well. The Australian colonies entered into a Naval Defense Agreement, by which they undertook to furnish annual contributions for ten years for increased naval forces in Australasian waters. Germany was already feared. There was also an agreement for the administration of British New Guinea at the joint cost of the Imperial Government and that of certain Australian colonies. With the first Conference began the long controversy over the matter of tariffs and trade relations within the Empire, but no act leading to a federalizing of the British dominions for this or other purposes resulted from the activity of the Imperial Federation League.

In 1894 a Conference at which the self-governing colonies were represented was held at Ottawa. The proposed Pacific cable was the prime cause of the meeting. The Conference asked the mother country for the right to enter into commercial agreements with each other and to grant commercial preferences within the Empire; but there was no assent to this request, as it would have meant the denunciation of what Lord Salisbury called the "unlucky" treaties with Belgium and Germany.

A much more important meeting occurred in 1897 on the occasion of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee. This Conference, in which all the self-governing colonies were represented by their Premiers, considered in secret sessions the three cardinal points of discussion that have come up at most of the Conferences, namely, the tariffs, racial relationships and defense. Through the recommendations of this Conference the treaties with Germany and Belgium were denounced. Trade preferences were accorded Great Britain and the Dominions were led to feel the growing need for adequate defense of the Empire under the control of the Admiralty. Joseph Chamberlain had become Colonial Secretary two years before, and had infused a new spirit into the con-

duct of the office. He desired some sort of closer imperial federation with the creation of an Imperial Council, but the Prime Ministers of the Dominions considered "the existing condition of things" as "generally satisfactory."

Much the same results followed the Conference held in 1902 in connection with the inauguration of Edward VII. The Empire had but just brought the Boer War to a conclusion. The more important colonies had shown their loyalty to the homeland and their interest in the Empire by military assistance. As would be expected, both the naval contributions and the trade preferences granted to the mother country were increased. Again measures for imperial federation, advocated by Mr. Chamberlain, were repulsed. An important resolution of the Conference of 1902 was to the effect that meetings should be held periodically at intervals of not more than four years.

Normally the next Conference should have met in 1906, but it was not convened until 1907 because of political changes in Great Britain. A distinct step in imperial relations was registered in this Conference — the first unconnected with some ceremonial — when the constitution for the "Imperial Conference" was worked out, including provision for informing the self-governing colonies of matters of importance that occurred between the Conference meetings. Defense again received much attention, and this engrossing subject was further considered in a subsidiary Conference in 1909.

The meeting in 1911 was in many ways the climax of the series that began in 1887. It concludes the first stage in the growth of the system of consultation among the important parts of the Empire; the War of 1914 was to bring with it startling advances. Several colonies prepared elaborate agendas for the Conference held in 1911, and the colonial legislatures discussed the matters that were to receive treatment at the approaching meetings. New Zealand, in particular, proposed numerous changes, recommending, for example, an Imperial Council of State, an Imperial Court of Appeal, the separation of the Dominions from the Crown Colonies in the

Colonial Office, the renaming of the Secretary of State for the Colonies so that he should be known as the Secretary of State for Imperial Affairs. The Colonial Office had already been divided into two departments. It did not seem desirable, however, to have an Imperial Council, as it would conflict, on the one hand, with the government of the United Kingdom and, on the other, with that of the Dominions. The latter have been careful in the discussions concerning the reorganization of the Empire to safeguard their own privileges while claiming a better position in the imperial organization. Foreign relations received full consideration, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs explaining the complex situation he had to face. Little was it realized that before the next Conference was scheduled to meet, the Empire would be engulfed in a World War.

The importance of military and naval problems for the Empire as a whole is illustrated by the activities of the Committee of Imperial Defense, which was functioning before the War of 1914 on an imperial program. The Committee was created, as the result of the interest of Mr. Balfour as Prime Minister, in questions of defense. The Conference of 1907 formally agreed that this Committee should advise on local questions when asked to do so and that a Dominion representative should be summoned to such a meeting if it were the wish of the Dominion Government concerned. At the time of the Conference of 1911 Dominion representatives sat on the Committee of Imperial Defense. In the next year Mr. Borden asked that Dominion members of the Committee should be given, in confidence, knowledge of foreign affairs: his request led to the suggestion of the Imperial Government that the Dominions have ministers stationed in London through whom a continuous and close relation with the self-governing colonies could be maintained. The suggestion had received little response by the time the World War opened in 1914.¹

The practical results of the series of Conferences that culminated in 1911 cannot be regarded as very prolific. N

¹ See A. B. Keith, *War Government in the Dominions*, pp. 13 ff.

super-organization, apart from that of periodic consultation, had resulted. The widely scattered dominions and the mother country continued to be united very largely by the bonds of sentiment and of a common heritage. Commercial and military needs assisted in preserving the unity of the British family. The constitutional bonds were to be found in the representatives of the Crown in the Dominions, but there was no effective unity in the imperial organization which answered to the new ideas that were germinating in the maturing oversea Britains. It should not surprise us that this anomalous condition existed in 1914. The British Empire has never been conspicuous for system. In the newer Empire, as well as in the Old, changes have come as need has arisen; the method has been that of trial and error. If the British Empire is a more heterogeneous combination of territories and peoples and governments than ever has been brought together under any other ruler than the King of Great Britain, it is at the same time true that the British have shown a remarkable capacity for making the seemingly impossible work. Of this the test came in 1914.

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CHAPTER XXV

THE EMPIRE AND THE WORLD WAR

THE peaceful evolution of Greater Britain had been going on leisurely for many years when it was suddenly interrupted by the opening of war in Europe in 1914. Within the Empire there had been conflicts, of which the Boer War was the most recent conspicuous example. Frontier strife with subjected peoples had occurred here and there. But Great Britain had not engaged in a major war since the middle years of the nineteenth century. The War of 1914, however, which began in southeastern Europe in a dull midsummer, entangled the important nations of Europe and later embroiled countries on all the continents. The British Empire, by virtue of its declaration of war against Germany in August of 1914, included in the struggle its numerous territories the world over. Never before had the Dominions, after they had become self-governing portions of the Empire, been drawn into an international struggle.

It is unnecessary to recount the story or explain the character of the World War. It was a titanic conflict claiming every ounce of energy the combatants possessed during the four long years of its duration. The very demand for this whole-souled participation made it necessary for the British Empire, among others, to subordinate all interests to the successful waging of the war. As such, it served as an epoch-making event in British imperial history, for it tested the strength of the Empire's structure as it had never been tested before. Apparent lack of a unifying organization proved delusive, for unseen and imponderable bonds were revealed by the crisis.

We are still much too close to the war days to measure with definite accuracy the widespread effects of the strife. Yet a recollection of the results of former great wars would naturally lead to a belief in important influences growing out of this most recent struggle. The War of the Spanish Success

sion which was the culmination of a series of world wars against Louis XIV, the Seven Years' War, the American Revolution which broadened into an international conflict, the world wars waged against Napoleon, all were of vital influence on the British Empire. One need not go far afield to find the effects on British imperial life of the most recent international conflict. New territories were added to the British dominions, rival empires ceased to be, the world awaited reorganization. So far as Greater Britain was concerned, the war not only did not stop the evolution we have traced in the preceding chapter; it tended to hasten the process of evolution. Certainly the attempt to assess the material and spiritual stimulus given to the British Empire should not prove unfruitful.

MILITARY ACHIEVEMENTS

The British entry into the war was by virtue of a declaration made by a government responsible only to the inhabitants of Great Britain. This was inevitable, since the attempt to reorganize the constitution of the Empire before 1914 had not proceeded far enough to form an executive that was in any way responsible to the self-governing Dominions as well. Fortunately the issue seemed an exceedingly clear-cut one and the oversea possessions spontaneously offered assistance, even though they had no voice in the direction of the policy that had led to the use of Dominion troops and resources. The hearty response of the Dominions can be explained on several grounds. The young life of the newer parts of the Empire was high-spirited and eager to share in a war that, it was commonly thought would be a short struggle. Fear of German aggressiveness, in case that Power won, influenced motive as well. But far more important was the belief in the unity of the Empire and the conviction that its life and institutions were worthy of perpetuation.

The Dominions took part in the war in many fields. The widespread German Empire had extended into the southern Pacific and into Africa not far from British possessions. This but added stimulus to Dominion interest in the conflict.

Thus New Zealand and Australia were of much value in conquering the near-by German holdings. The Australians occupied German New Guinea and the adjacent German islands. New Zealand troops conquered Samoa. In addition, Australia had an effective naval force at the opening of the war. The Union of South Africa at the request of the Imperial Government undertook the conquest of German South-West Africa, whose wireless stations were a distinct menace to successful British sea operations. The task was successfully completed under the leadership of General Botha, in spite of the fact that a serious rebellion handicapped the South African Government. The troops of the Union conquered German East Africa as well, though in this case the operations were under imperial control.

Three of the Dominions, therefore, took part in attacks on those portions of the German Empire which were sufficiently close to them to make the cause not only an Imperial but also a vital Dominion matter. Far more important in all cases, save that of South Africa, was the dispatch of expeditionary forces to, and their participation in, the European and Asian scenes of conflict, where they uniformly distinguished themselves.

Canada possessed the largest white population found in a Dominion, and sent a proportionate number of troops to Europe. Although there was a regular military establishment of but four thousand men, the promises of assistance were quickly fulfilled. The need for more troops led to the adoption of conscription in 1916. The French Canadians showed great disinclination to enlist, and there was much opposition to the draft in Quebec after conscription had been adopted. Yet Canada sent overseas during the war or had in training at its close nearly half a million men.

The Commonwealth of Australia had a system of compulsory training in operation when the war opened. In consequence the military response was prompt. Conscription was never adopted in Australia; in two referendums the inhabitants of the Commonwealth showed disapproval of the draft. Yet, in spite of difficulties with the Labor Party in

the later years of the war, the Commonwealth furnished over three hundred and thirty thousand men for service.

New Zealand had no racial trouble, such as was found in Canada, and was in possession of a system of compulsory training at the outbreak of the war similar to that in Australia. As a result of these ideal conditions, New Zealand furnished a high percentage of men for the military forces — over one hundred and ten thousand. Early in the war Australian and New Zealand troops combined to form the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps, commonly known as "Anzacs."

Fourth in rank were the forces of South Africa, which numbered about seventy-five thousand. Newfoundland, where a compulsory service law was passed late in the war, furnished ten thousand men, and the smaller colonies were represented by as many more. Outside of the self-governing Dominions many colored troops were obtained, and South Africa furnished large numbers for labor brigades.

It will be evident from this record that the war was waged by the British Empire as a whole. Yet it must not be forgotten that, of the military forces at the service of the Empire, the United Kingdom furnished the great bulk — over five million men. One quarter of the male population of Great Britain was in service, a proportion not reached by any of the Dominions. On the other hand, the Dominion casualties were in every case higher than those of the troops of Great Britain, so that the percentage of casualties to population in the United Kingdom and the Dominions does not vary greatly, ranging from about eight to about ten per cent of the total population. If blood be the price of empire, the Dominions paid in full.¹

AN ENLARGED EMPIRE

The immediate and evident consequences of the victory were of unrivaled importance to the British Empire if we

¹ The casualties of the Dominions are estimated to be nearly half a million, distributed as follows: Canada, 196,000; Australia, 210,000; New Zealand, 37,000; South Africa, 18,000; Newfoundland, 3500.

compare them with the results of any previous European war. Great competitive empires were rendered helpless. The colonial possessions of Germany were laid on the peace table. The Austrian Empire disintegrated and left the Allies an unhindered opportunity to deal at their will with the questions of the Near East, always an important sphere for the exercise of British foreign policy. The Turkish Empire was again subject to partition and distribution. So far as British interests in the Far East were concerned, the collapse of Germany had cleared the situation appreciably, while the transformation of an active Russian Empire into a comparatively weak state unable or unwilling to carry on the aggressive plans of the Romanoffs greatly relieved the tension in Persia, Afghanistan, Tibet, and China, much to the simplification of British policy.

A far more important consequence to the British Empire of an Allied victory was the addition of territory to the British possessions. As at the Peace of Utrecht in 1713, that of Paris in 1763, and that of Vienna in 1815, so by the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 British advance was chiefly registered by the addition of colonial holdings. The additions were not considered to be organically parts of the Empire, but protectorates or "mandates" held by the Empire or some one of its parts, the administration of which was to be subject to review by the League of Nations.¹

Of the German islands in the Pacific, New Zealand received the mandate for that part of the Samoan group formerly held by Germany. This Dominion had captured the

¹ In the Covenant of the League of Nations the mandates were classified according to the "stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions, and other similar circumstances." Territories formerly a part of the Turkish Empire were considered as mandates of such a high status that their existence as independent states could be provisionally recognized. The peoples of Central Africa were rated to be at such a stage of development that the supervision of the mandatarly should be more direct. Territories such as South-West Africa and certain of the South Pacific islands, on account of sparseness of population, or small size, or remoteness from centers of civilization, or contiguity to the territory of the mandatarly, "can be best administered as integral portions" of the mandatarly state. In every case the mandatarly was obligated to render an annual report to the Council of the League of Nations on the territory "committed to its charge."

islands early in the war and administered them in a military way during the conflict. New Zealand was desirous that Samoa should become a part of the British Empire, and the grant of the mandate to New Zealand, with its implied limitations, came as an "unpleasant surprise" to the Dominion. The care of the islands was accepted, however, and they assumed a relation to New Zealand much the same as that of the Cook Islands, which had been subordinated to the Dominion as an outlying possession. According to the mandate, however, no fortifications or naval bases can be erected in the islands mandated; therefore, they cannot serve as a naval outpost, though under British control. The chief problem that Samoa presents is the question of indentured labor, a form of service largely used by the Germans before the war; care is to be taken to safeguard the interests of the natives, since the primary purpose of a mandate is not to increase the exportation of rubber and coconuts.

Before the war the Commonwealth of Australia had charge of British New Guinea, otherwise known as Papua. A part of this enormous island of almost continental proportions was held by Holland and by Germany, while Germany also possessed some neighboring island groups both north and south of the equator. Australian forces easily conquered German New Guinea and the near-by islands; they were under Australian military rule during the war. The mandate for German New Guinea was entrusted to Australia, although there was a much stronger desire for direct annexation and the simple extension of the government of Papua to include the neighboring German territory. Instead, under the mandatory system the German part of the island was given a distinct administration as the Territory of New Guinea.

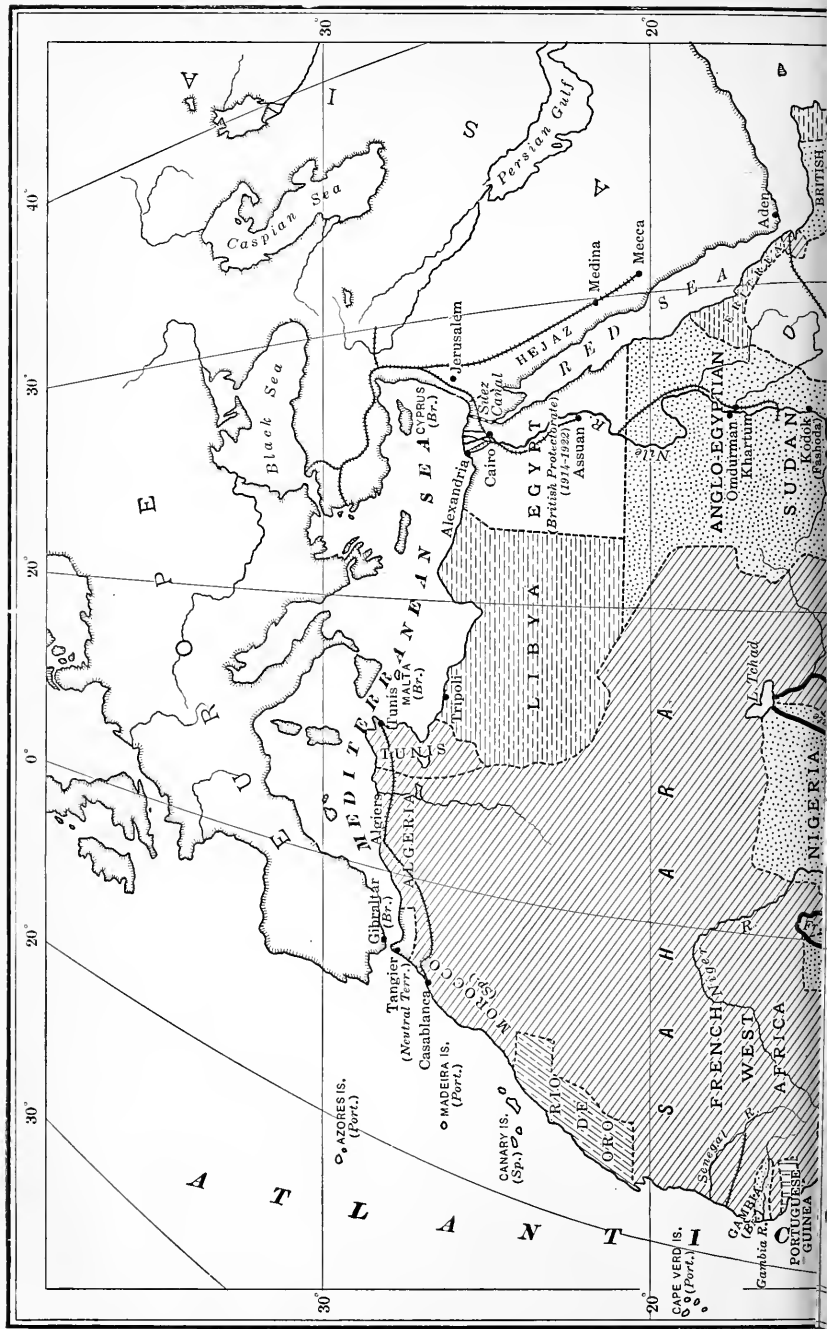
The Australian troops likewise occupied during the war the German island of Nauru, just south of the equator, important not only as a wireless station, but also for its extensive phosphate deposits. At the time of the occupation the deposits were being worked under a German concession by a British company. Australia wished the mandate, as it had

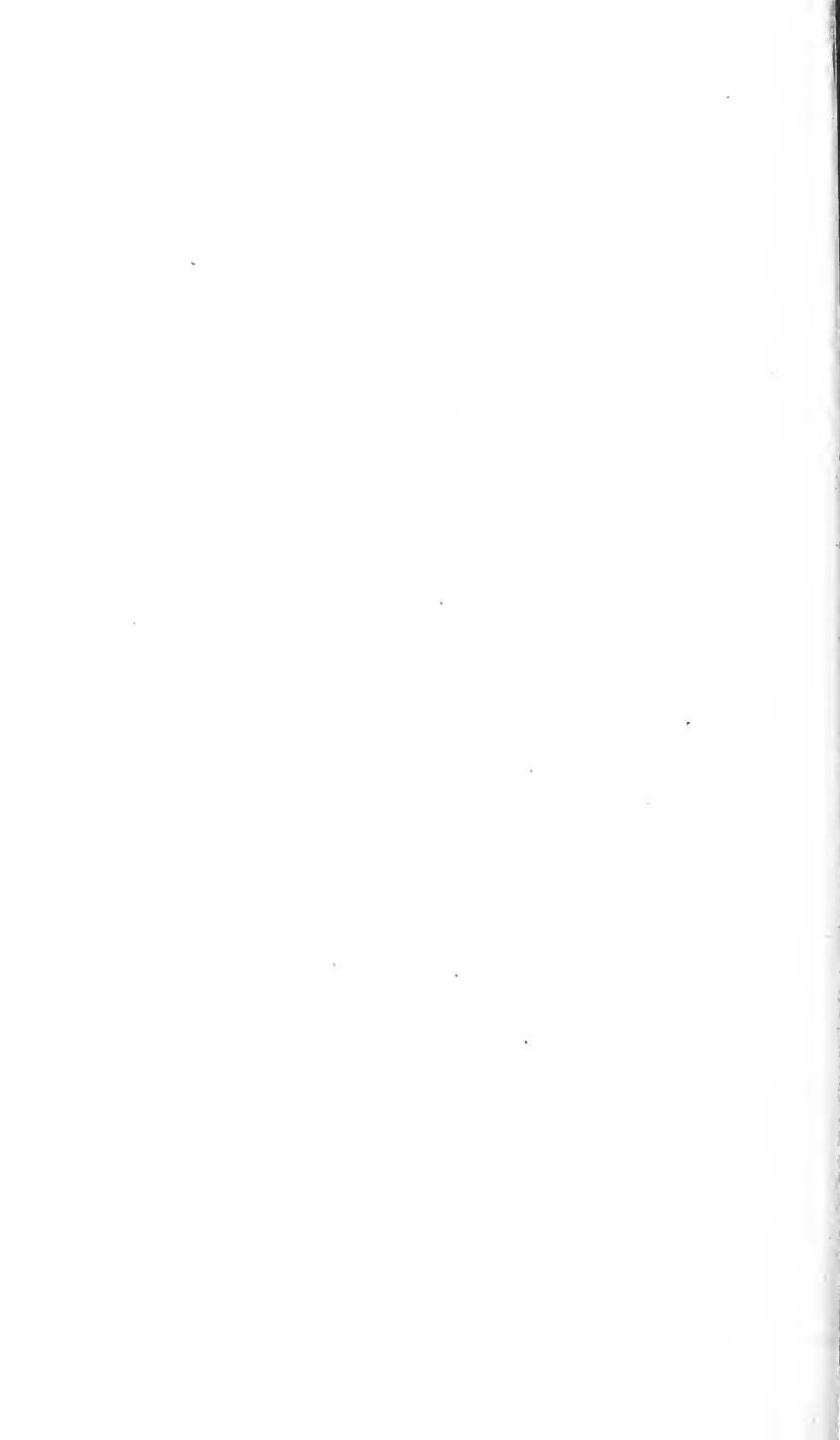
been obtaining large supplies of phosphate from the island. Instead, the mandate was given to Great Britain, and an imperial agreement was made by which New Zealand was to obtain sixteen per cent of the phosphate and the rest was to be equally divided between Australia and Great Britain. There has been some objection to the monopolistic character of the control of this small but exceedingly valuable speck of land in the Pacific.

The German Empire included large territories in central and southern Africa, which have been adjudged to the various victors with neighboring interests. German territories in central Africa on both the eastern and western coasts have been treated as mandates directly granted to Great Britain and other European nations.

There have been marked effects of the War of 1914 in the rearrangements of boundaries and the ownership of colonies and protectorates in central Africa. On the west coast the Gambia Colony and Protectorate and Sierra Leone Colony and Protectorate were not affected territorially by the outcome of the war. On the contrary, both the Gold Coast Colony and the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria have been slightly enlarged by additions from contiguous German territory, although the larger share of Togoland and the Cameroons have gone under French administration.¹ In eastern Africa Great Britain possessed in 1914 the Protectorates of Somaliland, East Africa, Uganda, and Zanzibar. British East Africa, which is bordered on the northwest by the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, had, as its southern neighbor, German East Africa. South of this large German possession lay more of British Africa — the Protectorate of Nyasaland and North-

¹ The British connection with Gambia dates from 1618. The Gold Coast became of interest to British merchants in the same century because of the trade in gold and slaves (see p. 54). Sierra Leone was brought within the sphere of British activity in 1787 as a result of the philanthropic efforts to find a home for freed African slaves; Freetown, in Sierra Leone, is the greatest seaport in West Africa. Lagos was ceded to Great Britain in 1861 by the local king; it became a convenient center for carrying out the suppression of the slave-trade. In 1906 it was united with Southern Nigeria to form the Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria. This British holding was combined in 1914 with the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria to form the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria. For Nigeria, see p. 441.





ern Rhodesia. Following the war the East Africa Protectorate became a Crown Colony under the name of Kenya Colony and the Zanzibar Protectorate was renamed the Kenya Protectorate.¹ German East Africa was divided between Belgium and Great Britain, the former receiving a small portion which bordered on the Belgian Congo, the latter obtaining the great bulk of this German possession as a British mandate. It is now known as Tanganyika Territory. The addition of Tanganyika to the British holdings in Africa is of the utmost significance, for the Cape-to-Cairo Railway, of which Cecil Rhodes dreamed, can now be constructed in its entire length of some six thousand miles without leaving lands under British influence.²

The case of German South-West Africa was deemed to be different from that of German East Africa, as the former was adjacent to the British territories of the Union and the troops of the Union had effected its conquest. This German possession was accepted as a mandate by South Africa, although, as in the case of the mandates for New Zealand and Australia, direct annexation would have been much preferred. There is a strong tendency to consider it as an integral part of Union territory. German administration of South-West Africa had not been particularly considerate of the natives, who were used under a system of forced labor, and who were not allowed to own any large stock and not more than five head of small stock. The supervision of this new possession but adds to the already engrossing native problem in the Dominion.

More than a year after the completion of the Treaty of Versailles, the Treaty of Peace with Turkey was drawn up and signed at Sèvres on August 10, 1920. It was of prime interest to Great Britain, as its relation to the Turkish Em-

¹ They are so called from Mount Kenya. It is over 17,000 feet high, and, though not the highest, is probably the largest mountain in Africa. On the upper heights of this vast pile, which is situated at the equator, there are thirteen glaciers. For further information on British East Africa see the official *Handbook of Kenya Colony and Kenya Protectorate* (London, 1920).

² In 1920 elaborate tests were made of a Cape-to-Cairo air route. One government crew succeeded in making the long air journey over much the same course which the proposed railway will follow.

pire had been a vital matter for many years. During the war the Hejaz, in southwestern Arabia, was made an independent Arabian state. Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia were regarded as mandates, though of higher grade than those we have already had occasion to notice. France and Great Britain were made the supervising states to assist in the creation of an "autonomous Arab kingdom." In addition, the more intimate connection with Great Britain of Egypt, Cyprus, and the Sudan was recognized in the Treaty. The delay in the completion of the arrangements for the Turkish Empire made the Treaty as much a recognition of the situation growing out of the war as a direction for future action. Yet the difficulties were increased as the Arabs became restless under the continued military occupation, and the Turks stubbornly refused to accept as definitive the arrangements of the Treaty of Sèvres.

Mesopotamia was accorded to Great Britain for "advice and assistance." It is of value to Great Britain for its inherent commercial possibilities, on account of its close relation to Persia and because of its importance in the eyes of those desiring to protect India. Ever since the British mandate for Mesopotamia was announced in May, 1920, there has been much confusion, and distressing disturbances have necessitated a considerable expenditure of life and money.

The problem in Palestine has been more clear-cut. In 1917 Mr. Balfour made public the intention of the British Government to make provision that Palestine should become a "national home for the Jewish people." A step in the fulfillment of the promise was taken when the Treaty mandated Palestine to Great Britain and a High Commissioner was appointed to put into effect the British declaration of 1917. Although this use of Palestine has created satisfaction among the Zionists, it has not been gracefully accepted by the Arabs. The dangerous doctrine of self-determination seems here to be disregarded, since the Jews compose a minority of the population; in fact, not a quarter of the inhabitants before the war were Jews. If the experiment of making Palestine a national home for the Hebrew race is to be a success,

care must be taken, in the words of the High Commissioner, "to develop the country to the advantage of all the inhabitants."

However difficult the nature of the Palestinian mandate, there is no doubt of the value accruing to Great Britain from its control of the Holy Land. Its situation is such as to make it of prime value in the defense of the Suez Canal. Hitherto Egypt had been the principal base for the defense of this vital line of communication between east and west. Palestine, however, offers as good, if not better, facilities for safeguarding this sea-road. It is farther from the canal, but there is railway connection, completed during the war, through the Sinai Peninsula. As the peninsula is practically uninhabited, there is no cause of worry over the communications. Not only is Palestine accessible; the climate is so salubrious, when compared to that of Egypt, that during the war it was found an excellent station for what was really the reserve of the Army of Egypt. Even should the land of the Nile become less a part of the Empire than it has been, Great Britain would still have an adequate base for guarding the imperial highway.

DOMINION POLITICS

The war period has witnessed much of interest in the domestic life of the self-governing portions of the Empire. In New Zealand political development was largely undisturbed. The Maoris proved loyal and willing to assist in the war. In 1912 the Liberal Government under Sir Joseph Ward had been defeated and replaced by the Reform Party. The new Premier, W. F. Massey, retained the control of Dominion government during the war, although a coalition was organized in 1915. It was dissolved at the end of the conflict, and the ensuing general election replaced in power the Reform Party under Mr. Massey with a more substantial majority than ever. In general it may be said that the Reform Party does not hold such decided social and labor views as characterized the attitude of the Liberals from 1890 to 1912.¹

¹ See pp. 380 ff.

Australian war-time politics have seen much strain and stress. In 1913 the Liberal Party came to office by a narrow margin, but was replaced by the Labor Party in the elections held in September, 1914. When the Labor leader, Andrew Fisher, was appointed Australian High Commissioner in London, he was succeeded as Prime Minister by Mr. W. M. Hughes. Mr. Hughes remained in power during the war, but it required extraordinary skill on his part to retain his place in the very troubled waters of Australian politics. The extreme wing of Labor early declared Mr. Hughes a traitor to his party, and that organization assisted greatly in defeating his efforts to obtain conscription in 1916. In 1917 a National War Government was formed out of a combination of Mr. Hughes's personal followers and the Liberal Party. The new Government was defeated on the issue of conscription, but it did not resign, as constitutional practice would lead one to expect; it was feared that the Labor Party, if it came to power, would not "carry on." The Labor opposition to the war in the closing years of the conflict became more serious than ever, and Australia found increasing difficulty in meeting the military requirements. "Nothing but the early termination of the war saved Australia from inability to maintain her forces in France." ¹

After a settlement of the war-issues at Versailles, and on the return of Mr. Hughes, definite steps were taken to form a new Nationalist Party out of the Liberals and conservative Labor group which had worked together in the coalition Government. The elections in 1919 gave the Nationalists substantial majorities, and the leadership of Mr. Hughes was continued.

The declaration of war found Canada ruled by the Conservatives under the lead of Sir Robert Borden. Although the Liberal opposition under Sir Wilfrid Laurier loyally supported the war measures, divergences soon appeared when the Conservatives became convinced of the need of conscription after the return of Mr. Borden from London in 1917. The Liberals were divided on conscription largely along ra-

¹ A. B. Keith, *War Government in the Dominions*, p. 96.

cial lines; the French in Quebec followed Sir Wilfrid Laurier in opposing the draft, while western Liberals joined with the Conservatives in forming a coalition Government. In October, 1917, a general election, fought on the issue of conscription, gave an overwhelming victory to the Government, although sharp criticism was made that this decision had been greatly assisted by the manipulation of soldiers' votes and by the enfranchisement of the nurses, wives, widows, mothers, and sisters of soldiers.

During the war there was an unfortunate recrudescence of racial trouble in Canada. The French population in Quebec showed itself much less willing than the English-speaking population to send its men to war. Indeed, Sir Wilfrid Laurier did not wish that Canadian troops should serve in South Africa during the Boer War and had only yielded under extreme public pressure. In 1917 he was opposed to conscription, but after it became law he urged that the law be respected. The attempt to enforce conscription in Quebec led to serious rioting in Quebec City in March, 1918. Much property was destroyed and the mob rule of the city was only overcome by military action, which resulted in the death of a number of civilians. French Nationalism became very expressive during the war especially in the outspoken utterances of M. Bourassa in his journal, *Le Devoir*.

The racial situation in South Africa at the opening of the war was in a much more delicate condition than that in Canada. The Boer War was a comparatively recent memory, which was carefully nurtured by the Boer Nationalist Party under the lead of Mr. Hertzog. General Botha was Prime Minister of a Government in the hands of the South African Party; it stood for a loyal acceptance of British rule and was not eager to emphasize the racial issue, though the party was largely composed of Boers. It was strong in the Transvaal and the Cape. The Nationalists were dominant in the Orange Free State where General Hertzog had been a Boer leader in the war of twenty years before. The British elements found expression through a Unionist Party and a Labor organization.

Hardly had the determination to conquer German South-West Africa been made before the Union was faced with civil war. General Hertzog was not able to arouse sufficient opposition in Parliament to prevent the attack on German territory, but others were quite willing to carry their hatred of governmental measures to the decision of arms. Prominent among the leaders of the revolt was Lieutenant-Colonel Maritz, who had lived for some time in German South-West Africa, but who later had returned to the Orange Free State, where at the opening of the war he became an officer of the Defense Forces. In September, 1914, he refused to take the offensive against the Germans, and in October moved into German territory, handing over loyal officers and men to the enemy and receiving a German command.

Leaders of more importance than Maritz were concerned in the rebellion. General Beyers had become Commandant-General of the Defense Forces in 1912; his disaffection proved dangerous. General De la Rey, very popular in the Transvaal, was counted on by the rebels for important service; but his influence was of short duration, as he was shot on September 15th while proceeding in an automobile with General Beyers to take charge of the proposed insurrection. General Beyers attempted to hide his intentions after this untoward event, but his efforts to cloak his true motives were but too evident. In October the rebellion had begun in both the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, with General Beyers and General De Wet as the leaders. General Botha defeated the former Commandant-General in October and in the next month, De Wet, who had scored a temporary success, was routed by the loyal Boer leader. At last the rebels attempted to reach German territory, but General De Wet was captured on December 1st and General Beyers was drowned in the Vaal a week later in an effort to avoid his pursuers by crossing the river, which was then in high flood.

Nationalism was not abashed by the defeat of a movement which must have found inspiration, if not actual support, in the Nationalist activity. Throughout the war the Government was face to face with a vehement Boer nationalism.

eager for a severance of the political connection with Great Britain. The Nationalists even went to the point of sending a deputation to Lloyd George asking for a restitution of independence. The Prime Minister of Great Britain met them in Paris in June, 1919; naturally, their request was refused. In August of the same year General Botha suddenly died. In him South Africa lost one of its finest leaders, a man who has been, not unfittingly, compared to George Washington. His mantle fell on General Smuts, who had already distinguished himself both in military leadership and statesman-like activity. A general election in 1920 strengthened the Nationalists. The seriousness of the situation led to the effort of General Smuts to form a South African Party on non-racial lines, which should include all those loyal to the British connection. Another general election was fought on this issue in March, 1921, which resulted in the successful fusing of the moderates of the two races under General Smuts's leadership. The result brought something like stability to a Dominion, whose war-time politics had been exceptionally boisterous.

UNREST

Not only has the life of the Dominions been much vexed during the World War by internal stress and strain, but other parts of the British Empire have been subject to disturbance. Where self-government has not yet been attained this has usually been the expression of a desire for more political rights, ranging all the way from greater privileges within the Empire to complete self-government outside the British sphere of influence.

The unrest in India, so evident before 1914, was but increased by the crisis that faced Great Britain. Early in the war an investigation of Indian conditions was made with a view to granting further rights of participation in the Government. On another page is to be found a brief description of the provisions resulting from the inquiry; it is not necessary to explain the nature of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms in this connection.¹ Unrest continued, however, in

¹ See pp. 313 ff.

spite of this effort to give Indians a greater share in their Government.

Naturally the Government was more severe on "conspiracies" during the time of the war. In 1918 a Sedition Committee, which was headed by Mr. Justice Rowlatt, reported at length on "Revolutionary Conspiracies in India," and recommended additional repressive legislation. Two bills based on the Rowlatt Report were the result, one a temporary measure to deal with anarchical movements and the other to make more severe the ordinary criminal law of India. The result was a violent outburst by Extremists against these "Black Bills."¹ The "Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act" of 1919 was a political mistake, for it kept alive the resentment of the Extremists. In addition, dissatisfaction has been fostered by certain regrettable incidents, of which the most noteworthy was the Amritsar massacre in April, 1919. General Dyer attempted to break up a public meeting which was being held in that city in defiance of the British. On reaching the scene of the assemblage his troops instantly opened fire, which was continued until the ammunition was exhausted. Nearly four hundred natives were killed and the wounded were left to find relief as best they could. Needless to say, this brutal act was investigated and General Dyer dismissed for a measure manifestly intended to terrorize the people. Nevertheless, the memory of Amritsar remained, to the bane of orderly life in India.

During the closing years of the war disaffection developed to a dangerous degree in India. There was considerable objection on the part of Mohammedan soldiers in the Indian army to service against their co-religionists within the Turkish Empire. This feeling was greatly intensified when the Treaty of Sèvres arranged for the partition of the Turkish dominions, for the Turkish Sultan is regarded as the spiritual head (the Khalifa) of all Sunni Mohammedans in the world. The Mohammedan Khalifate crusade against the Turkish treaty was led by the two Ali brothers. Toward the close of 1921 the formation of Khalifate Volunteers seemed

¹ See the official *Revolutionary Conspiracies of India* (Cd. 9190).

to the British so menacing that the Ali brothers were arrested and stern measures of repression instituted against the movement.

The Hindu desire for an end of the British domination and the establishment of *Swaraj*, or self-rule, has been headed by a remarkable leader, M. K. Gandhi. This devout Hindu dresses simply and lives austere while preaching the end of the British *Raj* and a return to a primitive state of society. He has been a very active advocate of "passive resistance." The Non-Coöperative movement assumed large proportions in the years following the World War. The program of Mr. Gandhi included the refusal to accept government titles, to serve in the government police, to attend government schools, to use foreign cloth, especially of English manufacture.

When the Duke of Connaught opened the Indian legislature early in 1921, he recognized the seriousness of the situation: "Since I have landed," he said, "I have felt around me bitterness and estrangement between those who have been and should be friends. The shadow of Amritsar has lengthened over the fair face of India." At the same time the royal visitor appealed to British and Indians to bury, along with the past, the mistakes and misunderstandings of the past. But the Non-Coöperative movement grew during the year even to the point of becoming militant, contrary to the plans and wishes of Mr. Gandhi. The Prince of Wales at the close of 1921 visited India; the occasion was made the opportunity by Mr. Gandhi and the Moslem leaders for redoubling their activities, with the result that there was, in certain cities, a boycott of the Prince of Wales. Numerous leaders were arrested toward the close of 1921, among them Mr. Lajpat Rai, the most influential political leader in the Punjab. So dangerous to the British control of India had the leadership of Gandhi become by 1922 that he too was put under arrest. It is to be hoped that there may be no such conclusion to the anti-British movement as that which occurred in 1857, but that a satisfactory program for the development of India's national life may be reached.

The principles of self-determination and the rights of small nationalities have found response in other parts of the Empire as well. In a cursory survey, such as the present chapter aims to present, all these influences cannot, perforce, be detailed. Yet there are two parts of the British Dominions where the new ideas have been so influential that they cannot be overlooked, namely, Egypt and Ireland.

Egypt was more closely bound to the Empire as a Protectorate after Turkey had become a British enemy in 1914. The unrest which we have found to exist in Egypt in earlier days was not rampant in 1914. A spirit of nationalism, however, had been spreading among the people. Toward the close of the war the fear of British "colonialism" increased, and there was widespread trouble in Egypt in March and April of 1919. The Nationalists chose representatives to press Egypt's claims at the Peace Conference, but the delegation was delayed as a result of the deportation by the British of four of its members to the island of Malta in March, 1919. After serious riots the delegation was allowed to go to Paris, where its labors were no more successful than those of the Nationalist delegation from South Africa. The continued unrest in Egypt led to the dispatch of a commission under Lord Milner to the land of the Nile for the purpose of inquiring as to the real situation and of making recommendations for "prudent and ever-enlarging enfranchisement." The Milner Commission, whose work was greatly hampered by hostile manifestations, proposed that Egypt be ruled by the Egyptians, with a recognition of its sovereignty only limited by a loose relationship to Great Britain not unlike that of Cuba to the United States.¹

The Milner Report, which advised the establishment of the "independence of Egypt on a secure and lasting basis," was apparently intended to form the basis of a treaty with the Egyptian Government. Much hesitation was shown to the acceptance of the "Milner withdrawal policy" as a solution of the Egyptian situation. Other European countries which

¹ The Official Report of the Mission was published in 1921 (Cmd. 1131).

had a stake in Egypt were not willing that the Capitulations, which protected their nationals, should be disregarded, and in Great Britain commercial interests in particular were not desirous of a severance of the bonds that kept Egypt in the Empire.

During 1921 the Egyptian situation reached a position amounting to a deadlock. The British were unwilling to relinquish military privileges in Egypt; the Egyptian Nationalists remained unbending in their desire for independence. A peaceful solution was reached early in 1922 after a visit to London by Lord Allenby, the British High Commissioner for Egypt. His representations resulted in a declaration on February 28, 1922, that the British protectorate of Egypt was abolished. In taking this step the British Government reserved to its discretion the subjects of Canal defense, the protection of Egypt against foreign aggression, the care of foreign interests in Egypt, and the British relation to the Sudan.¹ Shortly after the British abolition of the protectorate, the Sultan, through the Premier, announced Egyptian independence and assumed the title of King of Egypt as Fuad I. This step is the culmination of a movement which began about one hundred years ago under Mehemet Ali. By 1840 Egypt entered upon an autonomous existence which, after vicissitudes, has resulted in independence under the great-grandson of Mehemet Ali.

IRELAND

One of the most serious storm centers has been Ireland. When the World War began, the island was on the verge of civil strife over the question of home rule. The opening of the war temporarily healed the breach, as the Home Rule Bill was set aside for the time being. There was considerable recruiting in Ireland early in the war, but the western isle did not contribute anything like the proportion of soldiers that were furnished by England, Scotland, and Wales. It is estimated that less than seven per cent of the male population

¹ American readers will be reminded of the relation that exists between the United States and Cuba by virtue of the Platt Amendment.

served in a military capacity.¹ The attempt to apply conscription in 1918 failed.

In the early years of the war the Sinn Fein or Extremist Party was constantly growing in strength. They rose in revolt in April, 1916, in the Easter Rebellion, and proclaimed a republic. On the execution by the British of the Provisional President, the Sinn Fein organization chose, as "President of the Irish Republic," Eamon de Valera. Since the Easter Rebellion Ireland has seen little respite from war and anarchy. The very spirit and structure of social order seemed to be crumbling. An attempt in 1917 to form an all-Irish Parliament failed to succeed because Ulster and the Sinn Fein Party could not agree on its character and powers.

At the conclusion of the World War the Sinn Fein Party, whose strength had been continually increasing, captured most of the constituencies in southern Ireland for the London Parliament. Instead of sitting at Westminster, however, they organized an Irish Parliament in Dublin, known as the Dail Eireann. The military struggle in Ireland became exceedingly bitter in 1919. Agrarian outrage, the destruction of towns and creameries, as well as the loss of life by reprisal after reprisal, characterized what seemed an almost hopeless situation. The British Government used "Black and Tan" auxiliary troops, mostly drawn from ex-soldiers, but not under perfect military control, against the guerilla tactics of the "Irish Republican Army."

Late in the year 1920 a new Government of Ireland Act was passed; it provided for Northern and Southern Parliaments and a Central Council. This plan was denounced by the Sinn Fein leaders, but accepted by Ulster; in June, 1921, the Ulster Parliament was opened by King George. Shortly after the formation of the Northern Parliament a truce was agreed upon between southern Ireland and Great Britain in order to negotiate for a peaceful settlement of a question that had become wearying, not only to Englishmen, but to the world at large, because of its very omnipresence. It was a decided triumph when the almost insuperable difficulties

¹ *The Round Table*, No. 35, p. 500.

were surmounted at the close of the year 1921 by the signature of a Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland on December 6th.

By this Treaty, southern Ireland became the newest member of the group of self-governing Dominions, under the name of the "Irish Free State." Northern Ireland was not to be included in the Irish Free State unless the Northern Parliament within a month of the ratification of the Treaty decided to come within the new State.

The Dominion status granted to southern Ireland is fully and carefully stated by reference to the constitutional position of the self-governing states in the Empire. Article I reads: "Ireland shall have the same constitutional status in the community of nations known as the British Empire as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa, with a Parliament having powers to make laws for peace and order and good government in Ireland, and an executive responsible to that Parliament, and shall be styled and known as the Irish Free State." In order to make the new Dominion status unequivocal, especial reference is made to the dean of the self-governing colonies, the Dominion of Canada: "the law, practice and constitutional usage governing the relationship of the Crown . . . to the Dominion of Canada" shall apply to Ireland. The Dominion status of Ireland is further guarded by the provision that the Crown representative "shall be appointed in like manner as the Governor-General of Canada, and in accordance with the practice observed in the making of such appointments." A highly interesting recognition of the nationhood of the Dominions is expressed in the oath (Article IV), which members of the Parliament of the Irish Free State shall take.¹

No more significant step could have been taken than this great act of emancipation by which England evacuates Ire-

¹ In addition to allegiance to the Irish Constitution, the members of Parliament swear to be "faithful to His Majesty, King George V, and his heirs and successors by law, in virtue of the common citizenship of Ireland with Great Britain and her adherence to and membership of the group of nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations."

land after centuries of Irish subordination. So general was the satisfaction in England that, at the special session of Parliament called to ratify the Treaty, large majorities in both houses accepted this solution of the Irish question. The eventful proceeding was made more solemn when the King's address in the House of Lords was moved by the octogenarian, Lord Morley, who was formerly a Chief Secretary for Ireland and was prominent in the Gladstonian efforts to grant Home Rule to the Irish at the close of the nineteenth century.

The Treaty did not pass the Dail Eireann so easily. "President" De Valera was opposed to an agreement that fell short of granting complete independence to southern Ireland. The Treaty, on the other hand, was warmly advocated by those earnestly wishing an end to the five-year strife, among whom Arthur Griffith and Michael Collins were notable. It was finally accepted by the Dail Eireann early in the year 1922.

It is evident that the British Empire has been subject to attack at many internal points during the war. If the review of the more serious problems that have been faced seems depressing, it must be remembered that war crises reveal conditions for solution that are otherwise largely dormant. In a heterogeneous empire such as that of Britain, where all stages of political development and assimilation are in process, it would be strange if there were not places in the political structure that need repair or rebuilding.

CONSTITUTIONAL GROWTH

It is a much more pleasant task to review the effects of the great struggle on the constitutional relations of the self-governing Dominions to the motherland. In this sphere changes of a highly interesting and remarkably significant nature have been registered.

The Dominions spontaneously accepted the war which the authorities in Great Britain assumed on August 4, 1914. But a dilemma was immediately faced, for it was evident that the oversea Britains had no adequate share in the direction of

the forces that were sent to the theaters of conflict. In the Dominions the feeling had been growing for some time that they were mature members of the British group and should share in the administration of the Empire. The Colonial Conferences had served to "air" these aspirations; the war brought them to a head. The Honorable C. J. Doherty of Canada well phrased the feeling: "The hand that wields the sword of the Empire justly holds the sceptre of the Empire; while the mother country alone wielded the one, to her alone belonged the other. When as to-day the nations of the Empire join in wielding that sword, then must they jointly sway that sceptre."¹

It was not long before the Dominions participated in the war councils of Great Britain. The early stages of the conflict revealed the unwieldiness of a Cabinet of twenty-two members as an effective war executive. When Mr. Lloyd George came to power in December, 1916, a smaller War Cabinet of five was created, which kept in touch with the larger Cabinet by a secretariat. Nor was this all. Telegrams were sent to the Dominions inviting the Prime Ministers to attend the meetings of the War Cabinet as regular members. India was included as well, although up to this time it had not shared in Colonial Conferences. All the Dominions, including Newfoundland, accepted, though Mr. Hughes found the political situation so delicate in Australia that he could not leave at the time. Nor was General Botha present; he was represented by General Smuts.

As a result of the British Prime Minister's invitation, there met in the spring of 1917 what came to be known as the Imperial War Cabinet, which was the British War Cabinet plus the oversea representatives. The Secretary of State for the Colonies was also a member, but he was considered to represent only the Crown Colonies and Protectorates. The British War Cabinet and the Imperial War Cabinet met alternately, while an Imperial War Conference discussed non-military matters of Dominion interest. At the last session of the Imperial War Cabinet, Mr. Lloyd George proposed

¹ Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

that such a Cabinet meet annually and become an "accepted convention of the British Constitution." The Prime Minister recognized the wide desire for a readjustment of constitutional relations by suggesting that the question of constitutional readjustment should be the subject of a post-war conference. It was later set for 1922. Thus, at one stroke, the demands of war had transformed the Colonial Conferences which had met every four years into an Imperial Cabinet to hold annual sessions.

The significance of this epoch-making step was not unperceived, especially by the Dominion representatives. In a speech before the Empire Parliamentary Association delivered on April 3, 1917, Sir Robert Borden explained the significance of the Imperial Cabinet: "It may be that in the shadow of a great war we do not clearly realize the measure of recent constitutional development. . . . For the first time in the Empire's history there are sitting in London two cabinets. One of them is designated as the War Cabinet, which chiefly devotes itself to such questions as primarily concern the United Kingdom. The other is designated as the Imperial War Cabinet, which has a wider purpose, jurisdiction and personnel. To its deliberations have been summoned the representatives of all the Empire's self-governing Dominions. We meet there on terms of equality under the presidency of the First Minister of the United Kingdom; we meet there as equals, he is *primus inter pares*. Ministers from six nations sit around the Council Board, all of them responsible to their respective Parliaments."¹

In June, 1918, the Imperial War Cabinet assembled a second time. Two important resolutions were the outgrowth of this conference: the Prime Ministers of the Dominions have the right of direct communication with the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom on matters of cabinet importance; the Prime Ministers of the Dominions also have the right each to nominate a Dominion Cabinet Minister as representing him at meetings of the Imperial Cabinet in London, which may be held between the plenary sessions and in

¹ H. D. Hall, *The British Commonwealth of Nations*, p. 172.

the absence of the Dominion Prime Minister. It was during this second session of the Imperial War Cabinet that Sir Robert Borden spoke of this war executive as a "Cabinet of Governments."

Hardly had the Prime Ministers returned to their Dominions in the autumn of 1918, when they were hastily summoned back to share in the peace arrangements that had been precipitated by the collapse of Germany. The Dominion relation to the preparation of the Peace Treaty was an even greater departure from time-honored practice than the calling of an Imperial War Cabinet. Never before had a Dominion shared in the arrangement of an international peace.

With the calling of the Peace Conference the Dominions asked for and obtained the right of separate representation in addition to that accorded to the British Empire. They were counted among the small nations, and, of course, were represented as well on the Council of Five where Britain was one of the members. Sir Robert Borden was occasionally the colleague of Mr. Balfour in the Council of Ten, and he also acted as the chairman of the British Empire Delegation in the absence of Mr. Lloyd George. The place the Dominions had obtained was further illustrated when the time came to sign the Treaty; it received the signatures of the Dominions' representatives. Later the Treaty was presented by the Prime Ministers to their respective Dominion Parliaments, where it was ratified after consideration by the Dominion legislatures, just as if they represented distinct nations. This was not held to indicate disunity in the Empire, however, as the ratification was deemed to be that of the Crown acting on the advice of the Dominion Government. Dominion nationhood received further emphasis when the Dominions were granted mandates. In the case of South Africa, General Smuts declared that the mandate was accepted by the Union directly and not through Great Britain.

Aside from the Canadian expression of the "new status," General Smuts has given the most decided interpretation to the position achieved by the Dominions. In the discussion

in the South African Parliament arising out of the ratification of the Treaty, he declared the British Empire to be "a league of free states, free, equal and working together for the great ideals of human government." This did not mean any longer simply internal responsible government: "We have received a position of absolute equality, not only among the states of the Empire, but among the other nations of the world." The amazing character of this change he elaborated in many speeches at home and abroad, stressing the fact that the Empire which existed on August 4, 1914, had ceased to be on June 28, 1919, for it had been subjected to a fundamental change.

The further growth of the British Commonwealth Constitution will prove of great importance. Already Canada has shown a desire to have its own representative in Washington, and Australia has announced its intention of doing likewise. An Imperial Council has been proposed as a means of preserving unity. Another possible solution would be the admission of Dominion representatives to the London Parliament to vote on imperial matters. The more radical suggestion of federation, which was much talked of a generation ago, has made little progress. The federalizing of the Empire — that is, the formation of an Imperial Cabinet and Parliament, Great Britain retaining its own Parliament for its own purposes — has been viewed in the Dominions as a "Downing Street conspiracy" to deprive the outlying portions of the Empire of their individuality. General Smuts thus states what appears to be the prevalent opinion in the self-governing colonies: "We favor the round table or conference system for discussion and consultation between the governments in regard to common interests."

During the summer months of 1921 another meeting of the Imperial Conference or Cabinet met in London, and was of outstanding importance, as it registered for the first time during a period of peace the changes that had been wrought out in the crucible of war. Foreign policy was widely discussed and means considered for keeping the Dominions in continuous touch with the conduct of foreign affairs. The Domin-

ion Premiers even met with the British Cabinet for the discussion of external matters. It was significant that internal imperial affairs not directly Dominion concerns were on the agenda. Imperial defense, the air service, and communications naturally occupied a large place. The vital matter of communication was connected with an important decision regarding the proposed Constitutional Conference, which had been scheduled to meet in 1922. The Imperial Conference came to the conclusion that "continuous consultation" can be secured only by a substantial improvement in the use of the air for transit and communication. It was felt that the Dominion Premiers should aim to meet annually, but the difficulty of doing this was recognized, and it was decided that no advantage was to be gained by holding the proposed Constitutional Conference. This is not to be interpreted as a disregard of the changes wrought by the war or as a recognition of growing separatism, for the Address to the King declared it a "unanimous conviction that the most essential of the links that bind our widely spread peoples is the Crown, and it is our determination that no changes in our status as peoples or as Governments shall weaken our common allegiance to the Empire and its Sovereign."¹

In November, 1921, the Disarmament Conference began its meetings in Washington. President Harding's invitation to the British Empire to participate in the Conference came to London while the Imperial Conference was still in session. It gave the opportunity to the Dominion representatives to express their very keen interest in the Conference and in an understanding with the United States regarding armaments. Premier Hughes of Australia declared that the people of the Commonwealth had a very warm corner in their hearts for America: "They see in America to-day," he said, "what they

¹ The "Crown" has been active in recent years in the endeavor to unify the Empire. The Duke of Connaught served as the Governor-General of Canada from 1911 to 1916. He went to India in 1921 to open the new legislature created by the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. His son, Prince Arthur of Connaught, became Governor-General of the Union of South Africa in 1920. The Prince of Wales won considerable popularity by a tour of the Dominions at the close of the World War; in 1921 he visited India at a time of serious stress in Anglo-Indian relations.

themselves hope to be in the future. . . . Subject to that determination which we have to achieve our destiny with each other and with Britain, we resemble so many Americas." Mr. Smuts stated the attitude of the Dominions even more warmly if that were possible: "America is the nation that is closest to us in all the human ties. The Dominions look upon her as the eldest of them. She left our circle a long time ago because of a great historic mistake. I am not sure that a wise policy, after the great events through which we have recently passed, might not repair the effects of that great historic error, and once more bring America on to lines of general coöperation with the British Empire."

Three of the Dominions, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand possess as keen an interest in Pacific problems as do the United States and Japan. It was therefore fitting that these three Dominions should have representation on the British delegation that met in Washington in November, 1921. The Canadian representative was Sir Robert Borden. Once again the nationhood of the Dominions within the Empire received recognition.

Surely the world conflict that began in 1914 has been of no little influence on the expansion and government of the British Empire. The heat of war has made possible the moulding of an organization that has no counterpart in the world's history. If it still seems a loosely coördinated group of peoples, in that may rest its unique value. Over a hundred years ago, when the thirteen colonies were being lost, the great statesman, Edmund Burke declared that the bonds joining colony to motherland were to be found in "a close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, similar privileges and equal protection. These are the ties which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron." Never, in the whole course of British expansion, has there been a better example of the relation between colony and motherland than the bonds that attach the Dominions to Great Britain. Indeed, it may well be that a British group of nations is in formation which can enlarge its affections to include, for the betterment of mankind, all branches of the English-speaking people.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Books on imperial problems have been numerous since 1914. Students of the imperial constitution are deeply indebted to Professor Keith for his *Imperial Unity and the Dominions* (Oxford, 1916), his summary of *Dominion Home Rule in Practice* (Oxford, 1921), and his admirable survey of *War Government in the Dominions*, which appeared in the same year. The latter contains a full bibliography. Mention should be made of *The Commonwealth of Nations* (London, 1916), edited by Lionel Curtis, as well as this writer's *The Problem of the Commonwealth* of the same year. Imperial federation was advocated by W. B. Worsfold in *The Empire on the Anvil* (London, 1916). An important consideration of imperial politics is that of the Australian H. Duncan Hall, *The British Commonwealth of Nations, A Study of the Past and Future Development* (London, 1920), in which the necessity for continuous consultation is emphasized.

Statistics for the present time should be sought in the *Colonial Office List*, the *Statesman's Year-Book*, the *Dominion Year-Books*, and other annual publications. Parliamentary papers of great value appear constantly and are valuable sources for current colonial affairs. These official reports, "Presented to Parliament by Command of His Majesty," are serialized and are purchasable at reasonable prices. (The "Cd." series has been succeeded by the "Cmd." series.) His Majesty's Stationery Office has published a series of *Handbooks Prepared under the Direction of the Historical Section of the Foreign Office*, in which territories the world over that were of concern at the conclusion of the World War have received careful treatment.

A conspectus of sources of information would be incomplete without reference to the more important periodicals bearing on this subject. *The Round Table* is a quarterly review of the politics of the British Commonwealth, which began publication ten years ago; its articles frequently reach farther back than 1911. *The United Empire* is the monthly organ of the Royal Colonial Institute, and *The Landmark* that of the English-Speaking Union. Commercial matters are the concern of *The Empire Review and Journal of British Trade* as well as of the quarterly *Bulletin of the Imperial Institute*. *The Journal of the Parliaments of the Empire*, which began in 1920, is a quarterly digest of the debates and legislation of the Parliaments of Great Britain and of the five Dominions. The well-known *Contemporary*, *Fortnightly*, and *Nineteenth Century and After*, though of wider range, frequently have important material on imperial affairs.

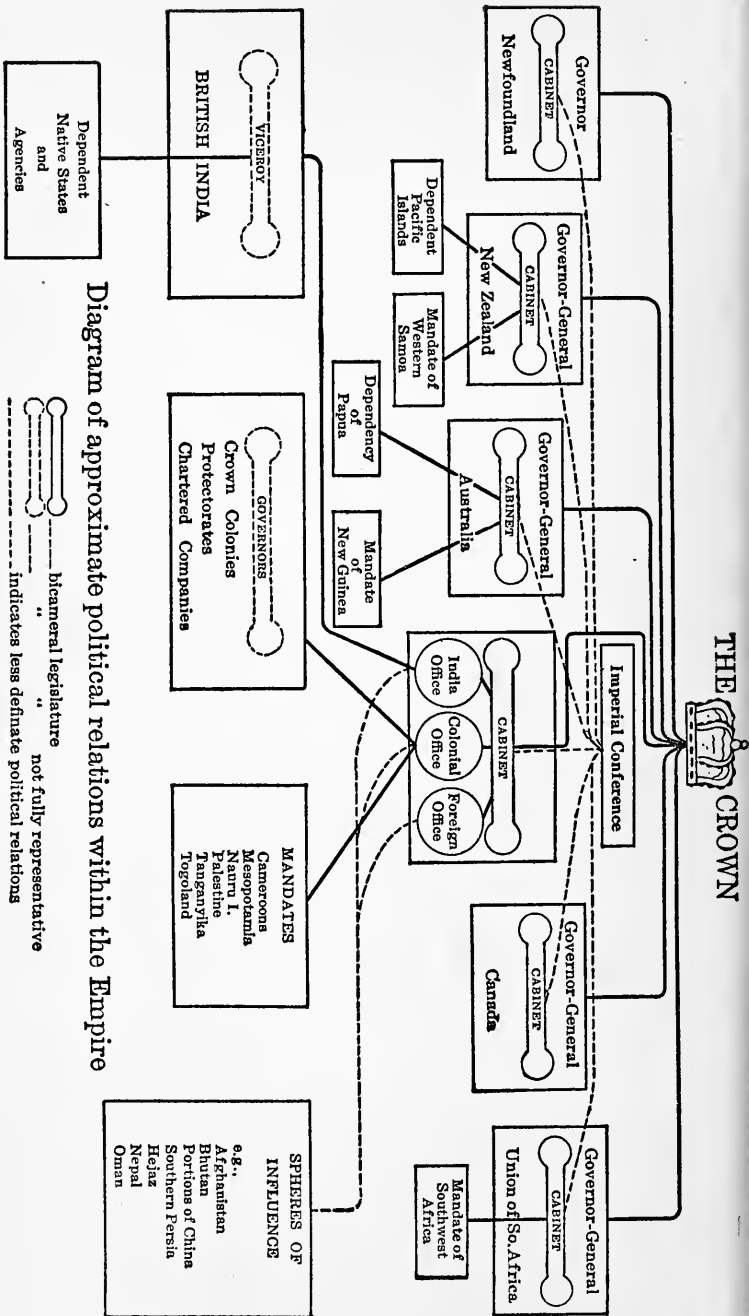
APPENDIX

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

Abbreviations: ap. = appointed; el. = elected; Adv. C. = Advisory Council; Cab. = Cabinet; Cr. Col. = Crown Colony; Dom. = Dominion; E.C. = Executive Council; Exec. Off. = Executive Officer; Fed. = Federal; Gov.-Gen. = Governor-General; H.A. = House of Assembly; H.C. = House of Commons; H.L. = House of Lords; H.R. = House of Representatives; High Com. = High Commissioner; L.A. = Legislative Assembly; L.C. = Legislative Council; par. el. = partially elected; Pol. Res. = Political Resident; Prot. = Protectorate; Resp. govt. = Responsible government; Sen. = Senate.

Crown Colony Councils are appointed, unless otherwise stated.

<i>Pol. unit</i>	<i>Area in sq. mi.</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Government</i>
EUROPE			
THE UNITED KINGDOM	121,633	47,307,601	<i>Resp. govt.</i> H.L., H.C., and Cab.
England			
Wales			
Scotland			
Ireland			
Isle of Man			2 self-gov. states.
Channel Is.			Self-govt.
Gibraltar	2	25,367	Self-govt.
Malta	118	225,000	<i>Cr. Col.</i> No Councils.
			<i>Diarchy</i> , transferred subjects under a resp. govt. Gov., E.C., and el. L.A.
AMERICA			
THE DOMINION OF CANADA	3,729,665	8,769,489	<i>Self-gov. Dom.</i> Gov.-Gen., Sen. and H.C. Each province has a Lieut.-Gov. and prov. parl. N.S. and Que. have L.C. and L.A.; the rest a single L.A.
Provinces of			
Alberta			
British Columbia			
Manitoba			
New Brunswick			
Nova Scotia			
Ontario			
Prince Edward Is.			
Quebec			
Saskatchewan			
Yukon Territory			Exec. Off. and el. C.
North-West Territories			Com. and ap. C.
NEWFOUNDLAND and	42,734	260,922	<i>Self-gov. Dom.</i> Gov., E.C., L.C., and H.A.
Labrador	120,000	3,647	
BERMUDA Is.	19	21,869	<i>Cr. Col.</i> Gov., E.C., L.C., and el. H.A.
BAHAMA Is.	4,404	55,944	<i>Cr. Col.</i> Gov., E.C., L.C., and el. A.
BARBADOS	166	171,893	<i>Cr. Col.</i> Gov., E.C., L.C., and el. H.A.
JAMAICA, including Cayman Is., Turks and Caicos Is.	4,620	905,000	<i>Cr. Col.</i> Gov., Privy C., and par. el. L.C.
LEEWARD Is.	715	127,193	<i>Cr. Col.</i> Five Presidencies with Fed. E.C. and par. el. Fed. L.C. and local councils.
Antigua			
St. Kitts-Nevis			
Dominica			
Montserrat			
Virgin Is.			



THE BRITISH EMPIRE (*continued*)

<i>Pol. unit</i>	<i>Area in sq. mi.</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Government</i>
WINDWARD Is. Grenada St. Vincent St. Lucia Grenadines	516	182,689	<i>Cr. Colonies. Gov., but no federal councils. Each an ap. L.C.</i>
TRINIDAD and Tobago	1,974	386,907	<i>Cr. Col. E.C. and L.C.</i>
BRITISH GUIANA	89,480	309,000	<i>Cr. Col. Gov., E.C., par. el. Court of Policy, and par. el. Combined Court.</i>
BRITISH HONDURAS	8,592	43,586	<i>Cr. Col. Gov., E.C., and L.C.</i>
FAULKLAND Is., including South Georgia South Shetlands South Orkneys Grahams Land	7,500	3,252	<i>Cr. Col. Gov., E.C., and L.C.</i>
AFRICA			
Southern Africa			
THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	795,296	7,150,666	<i>Self-gov. Dom. Gov.-Gen., Sen., and H.A.</i>
Provinces of		(white	
Cape of Good Hope		1,542,161)	<i>Each province with Administrator and el. Provincial Council.</i>
Natal			
Orange Free State			
Transvaal			
South-West African Protectorate	(322,200)		<i>Mandate.</i>
BASUTOLAND	11,716	406,000	<i>Cr. Col. High Com. for So. Af.</i>
BECHUANALAND	275,000	125,000	<i>Prot. High Com. for So. Af.</i>
RHODESIA	440,000	1,739,000	<i>Administered under Br. So. Af. Co. High Com. for So. Af., assisted by E.C. and par. el. L.C.</i>
SWAZILAND	6,678	100,000	<i>Cr. Col. High Com. for So. Af.</i>
Western Africa			
ASCENSION I.	34	250	<i>Cr. Col. Commandant.</i>
ST. HELENA and Tristan da Cunha	47	3,500	<i>Cr. Col. Gov.</i>
GAMBIA	4,134	248,000	<i>Cr. Col. and Prot. Gov., E.C., and L.C.</i>
SIERRA LEONE	31,000	1,404,000	<i>Cr. Col. and Prot. Gov., E.C., and L.C.</i>
GOLD COAST	80,000	1,503,386	<i>Cr. Col. and Prot. Gov., E.C., and L.C.</i>
NIGERIA	332,000	17,500,000	<i>Cr. Col. and Prot. Gov. and E.C.</i>
TOGOLAND, Part of	12,500	300,000	<i>Mandate.</i>
CAMEROONS, Part of	30,000	400,000	<i>Mandate.</i>
Eastern Africa			
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN	1,014,000	4,000,000	<i>Under joint administration of Great Britain and Egypt. Gov.-Gen. & E.C.</i>
EGYPT *	350,000	12,878,000	<i>Protectorate. (1914-1922.)</i>
KENYA	246,822	3,000,000	<i>Cr. Col. and Prot. Gov., par. el. L.C.</i>
MAURITIUS and island dependencies	809	365,000	<i>Cr. Col. Gov., E.C., and par. el. C. of Govt.</i>
NYASALAND	39,573	1,203,000	<i>Protectorate.</i>
SEYCHELLES Is. and dependencies	156	25,000	<i>Cr. Col. Gov., E.C., and L.C.</i>
BRITISH SOMALILAND	68,000	300,000	<i>Protectorate.</i>
TANGANYIKA TERRITORY	384,000	4,000,000	<i>Mandate.</i>

* Egypt became an independent kingdom, 28 Feb., 1922.

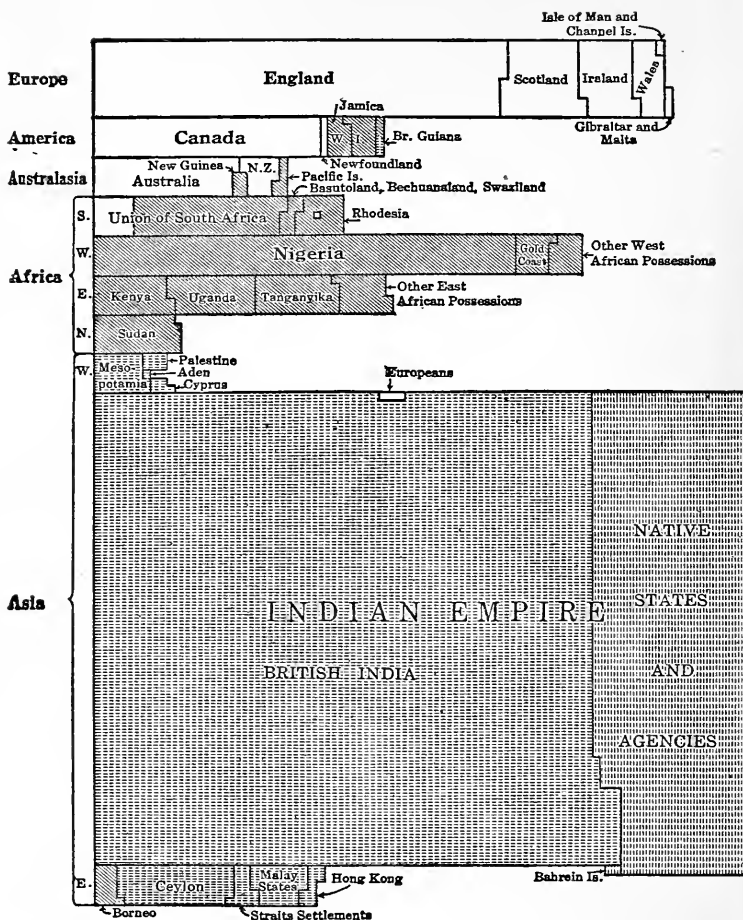


Diagram showing distribution and relative size of populations within the Empire

THE BRITISH EMPIRE (*continued*)

<i>Pol. unit</i>	<i>Area in sq. mi.</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Government</i>
UGANDA	110,300	3,318,000	<i>Protectorate.</i> Gov., E.C., and L.C.
ZANZIBAR and Pemba	1,020	200,000	<i>Prot.</i> High Com. and Br. Res.
ASIA			
THE EMPIRE OF INDIA	1,802,657	319,075,132	(In Gt. Br.) Sec. of State for India and his Council.
British India	(1,093,074)	(247,138,396)	(In India) Viceroy, E.C., Council of State and par. el. L.A.
Fifteen Provinces of			
Ajmer-Merwara			
Andaman & Nicobar Is.			
Assam			
Baluchistan			
Bengal			
Bihar and Orissa			
Bombay			
Burma			
Cent. Provs. and Berar			
Coorg			
Delhi			
Madras			
Northwest Frontier Prov.			
Punjab			
United Provs. of Agra and Oudh			
Native States and Agencies (about 700 in no.)	(709,583)	(71,936,736)	Diarchical system in each of the fifteen provinces. Gov. or Chief Com. and E.C. Par. el. L.C. with power in "transferred" subjects.
Bahrein Is.	275	110,000	More or less autonomous.
ADEN, including Perim and Sokotra	10,462	58,000	Pol. Res. for Govt. of India. <i>Cr. Col. and Prot.</i> Gov.
BRITISH BORNEO	77,106	1,000,000	
Br. North Borneo			Gov. and L.C. for <i>Br. Nor. Bor. Co.</i>
Brunei			<i>Prot.</i> Br. Resident.
Sarawak			<i>Prot.</i> under Eng. Rajah.
CEYLON	25,481	4,758,000	<i>Cr. Col.</i> Gov., E.C., and par. el. L.C.
CYPRUS	3,584	315,000	<i>Cr. Col.</i> High Com., E.C., and par. el. L.C.
HONG KONG	391	598,000	<i>Cr. Col.</i> Gov., E.C., L.C.
MALAY STATES			
Federated Malay States	27,506	1,325,000	<i>Prot.</i> High Com.
Other Malay States	23,486	955,000	<i>Protectorates.</i> Br. advisers to native rulers.
MESOPOTAMIA (Iraq)	143,000	2,850,000	<i>Mandate.</i>
PALESTINE	9,000	650,000	<i>Mandate.</i>
STRAITS SETTLEMENTS and	1,600	846,000	<i>Cr. Col.</i> Gov., E.C., L.C.
Cocos Keeling Is.			
Christmas I.			
Labuan I.			
AUSTRALASIA			
THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA	2,974,581	5,436,794	<i>Self-gov. Dom.</i> Gov.-Gen., Sen., H.R.
States of			
New South Wales			
Queensland			
South Australia			
Victoria			
Western Australia			
Tasmania			
Northern Territory			Each State with Gov., el. L.C. (save Queensland) and el. L.A. (called H.A. in Tasmania and So. Aust.).
			Adm. and par. el. Adv. C.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE (*continued*)

<i>Pol. unit</i>	<i>Area in sq. mi.</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Government</i>
Papua	90,540	250,000	Lieut.-Gov., E.C. and L.C. <i>Mandate.</i>
German New Guinea and adjoining Is.	89,500	350,000	
THE DOMINION OF NEW ZEALAND, including Auckland Is. Chatham Is. Kermadec Is. Cook Is., and others	103,581	1,268,270 (Maoris 50,000)	<i>Self-gov. Dom. Gov.-Gen., L.C. and H.R.</i>
Western Samoa	1,260	13,000	
FIJI Is.	7,083	41,128 164,000	<i>Mandate.</i>
UNATTACHED BRITISH IS.			<i>Cr. Col. Gov., E.C., and par. el. L.C.</i>
TONGA OR FRIENDLY IS.	390	24,000	<i>Under supervision of High Com. of West. Pac.</i>
BR. SOLOMON IS. and Santa Cruz Is.	14,800	150,000	<i>Prot. El. L.A.</i>
GILBERT AND ELLICE IS. COLONY, including Fanning I., Union Is., Christmas I., Phoenix Is.	226	30,700	<i>Prot.</i>
NEW HEBRIDES	5,100	70,000	<i>Cr. Col.</i>
STARBUCK I. and various others near the equator	40	200	<i>Condominium with France.</i>
PITCAIRN I. and adjoining Is.	10	150	<i>Prot. Res. Com.</i>
NAURU I.	20	1,200	<i>Protectorates.</i>
Total Area of Empire	13,671,902		<i>Prot. Pres. and C.</i>
Total Population of Empire		459,307,735	

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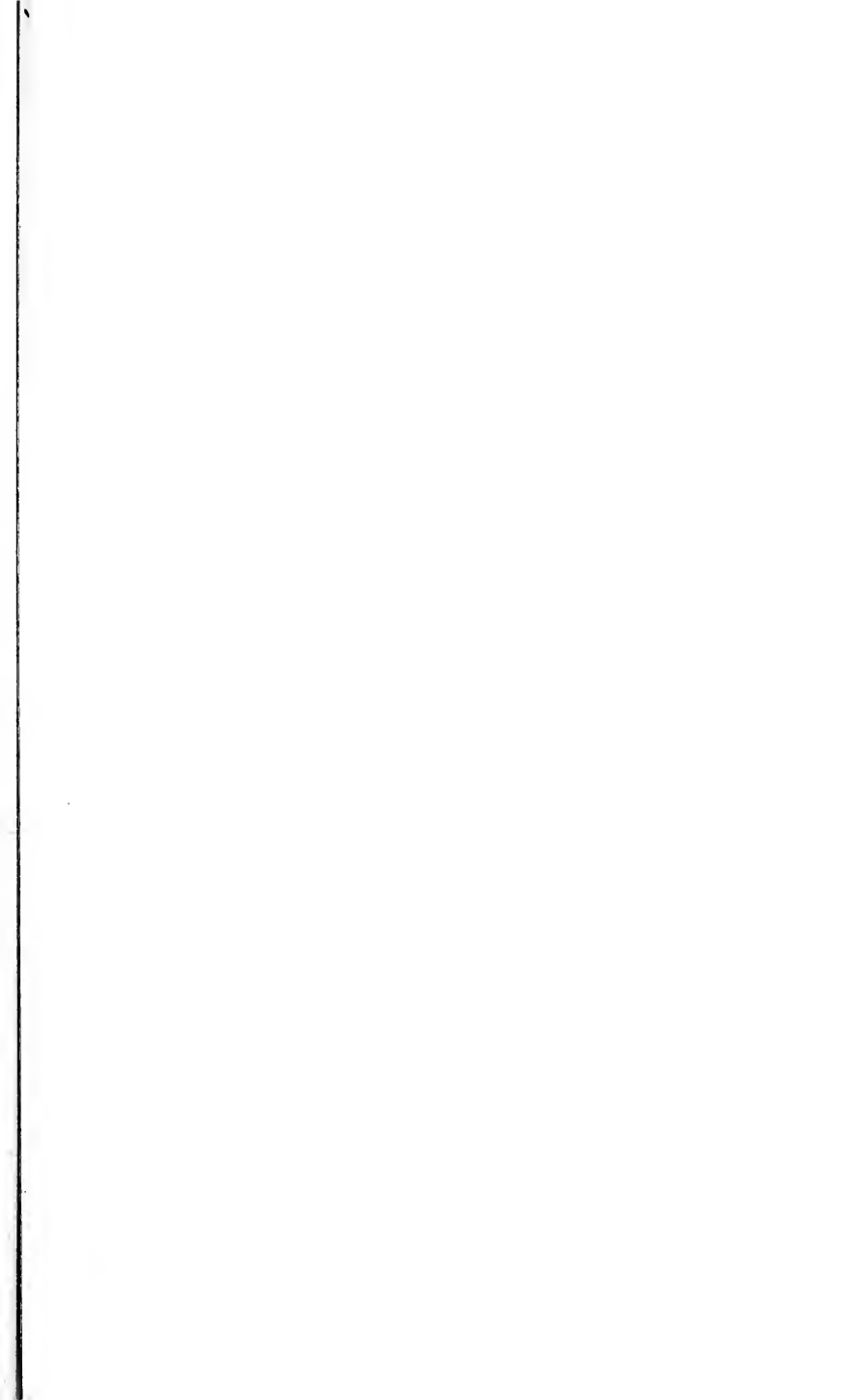
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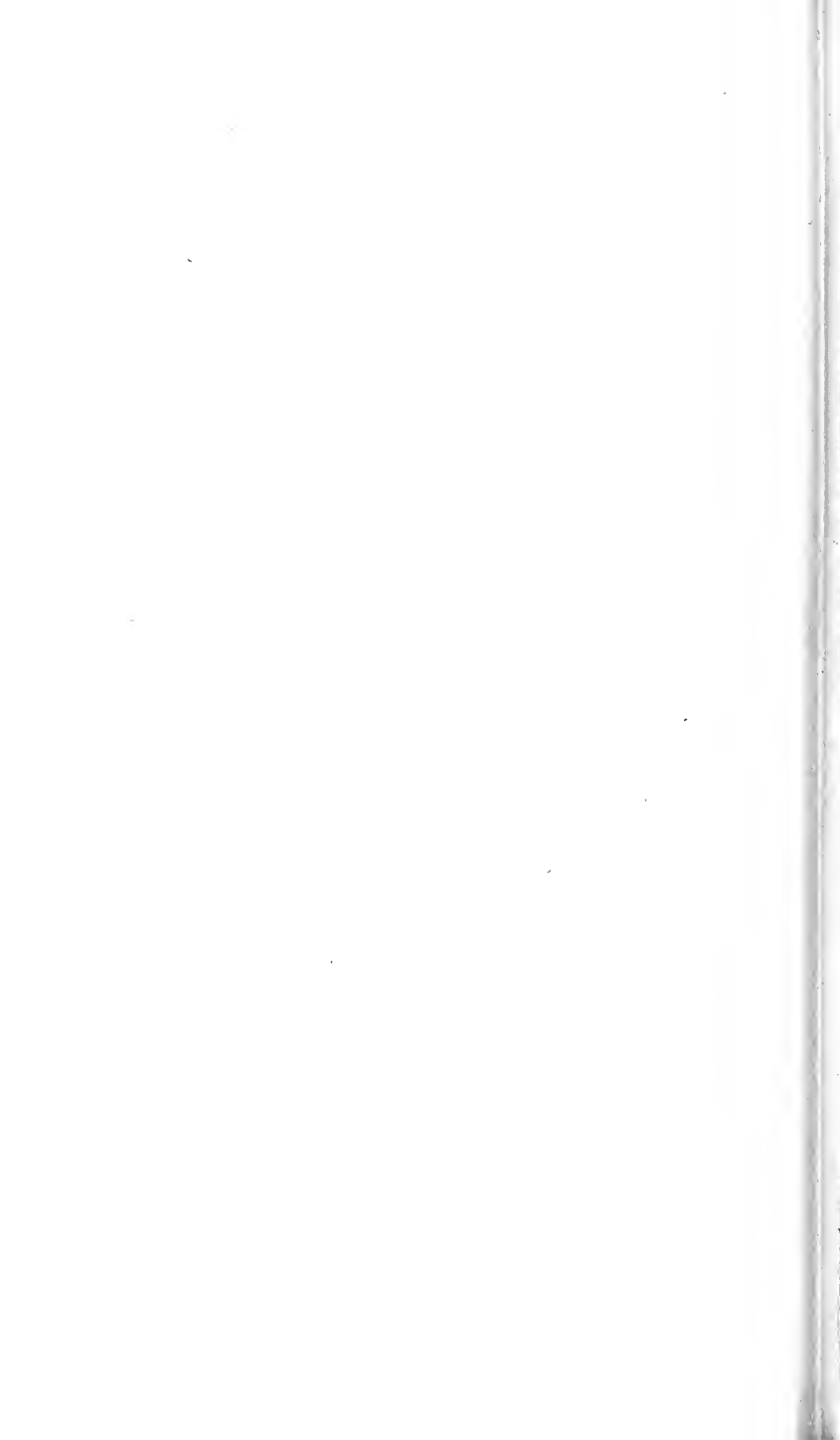
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